1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

Naivasha province and 5,000 between Kikuyu and Kilima-Njaro. 161 175

The expansion of the tribe seems to have come to an end about the middle of the last century. About 1830 they reached their furthest recorded point in the south and were driven back by the Wagogo and Wahehe. The southward movements of the Gallas and Somalis kept them back on the north-east, though as late as the nineties they raided on the Tana river. It would appear that about 1850 the Turkana drove the most westerly branch of the Masai from the west to the south of Lake Rudolf, where they are now settled. Somewhere about the same period—at the time an old man can remember according to the native expression—the Masai dwelling on the Uasin-Gishu plateau attacked those of Naivasha, and after defeating them were in their turn thoroughly defeated by a combination of Naivasha and allies from Kilima-Njaro. The inhabitants of the Uasin-Gishu were scattered to the four winds: those who escaped their brethren were annihilated by the Nandi, and only a few fragmentary remnants survive in Kavirondo, Lumbwa, and the two villages called Great and Little Enjámusi at the south end of Lake Baringo. Another branch called 'L-Osigella or Segelli took refuge in the Nyando valley but were wiped out by the Nandi and Lumbwa. The Laikipia plateau, which is now uninhabited like the Uasin-Gishu, was not depopulated in 1889, when Peters crossed it and had many fights with the Masai. According to one story, the people of Laikipia raided some other Masai near Nairobi about 1890 and carried off their cattle. These cattle were suffering from rinderpest, and the result was that all the stock of the Laikipia took the disease and died. This was considered as a judgment on the Laikipia for raiding their brethren. 175 648 [361] [731]

At present the agricultural Masai are found chiefly near Lake Natron and south of Mount Meru in German territory. In our Protectorate they are represented only by a few scattered settlements, such as the people of Enjámusi, the Burkeneji, and perhaps the people of Samburu in the Rendile country. It would appear that the name Wakwavi, often applied to the agriculturalists, is merely a Swahili nickname borrowed from the Masai Kwavi or Kwapi, meaning places. The pastoral section classify themselves under five districts, with many subdivisions, namely Kaputiei (Kapite plains), En-aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (the district south and west of Kilima-Njaro), Uasin-Gishu, and 'L-Aikipyak. The two last districts, as mentioned, have ceased to exist, and those who 101 [361] 101 634

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

claim to belong to them live elsewhere. Merker gives as the principal divisions three provinces, Kisongo, Loita, and Olbruggo. This is perhaps not according to Masai traditions, but is not incorrect as a practical description of the present distribution of the tribe. The Loita and Olbruggo, also known as Elburgon and Purko, are both subdivisions of the Naivasha district, of whom the former acquired importance by refusing to accept the present Laibon, Lenana, and following instead his brother Sendeyo. Besides these districts, there are four clans representing genealogical not territorial divisions: Aiser, Meñgana, Mokesen, and Molelyan. The Aiser seem to enjoy a certain primacy. The medicine men all belong to this clan, which is specially connected with Mount Ngong (to the south of Kikuyu), also called Ol-doinyo loo-'l-Aiser, the mountain of the Aiser.

According to the social system of the pastoral Masai the male sex is divided into boys, warriors, and elders. The first stage continues until circumcision, which may be performed any time between thirteen and seventeen, or sometimes in the case of poor people not till twenty. Those who are circumcised about the same time (see p. 261 for details) are said to belong to the same age, and are known collectively by a distinctive name, such as 'the White Swords' or 'the Invincibles.' After circumcision the warriors plait their hair, but, except for a small skin hanging over the shoulders, and their arms and ornaments (which are described by Mr. Hollis), go absolutely naked. They subsist entirely on meat, milk, and blood, and in particular may not smoke or touch intoxicants. They do not live with the married people, but in separate kraals with the immature unmarried girls, with whom they are allowed to cohabit freely. Tradition[1] (see p. 117) ascribes this practice to the fear that if girls were kept away from the society of their own warriors, they would let themselves be seduced by the enemy; but the remedy has been worse than the danger it was to avert. The direct physical evil is considerable, and is partly responsible for the diminishing numbers of the race. Besides this, female morality after such a girlhood was naturally low, even when the Masai kept to themselves. Now that they have come into contact with civilization, prostitution and venereal disease have become deplorably frequent. About the age of twenty-seven or thirty, or nowadays when raiding is forbidden somewhat earlier, a warrior marries and settles down. If he

[1] It is said that among the Dinka, Bari, and Shilluk there are similar customs of free love.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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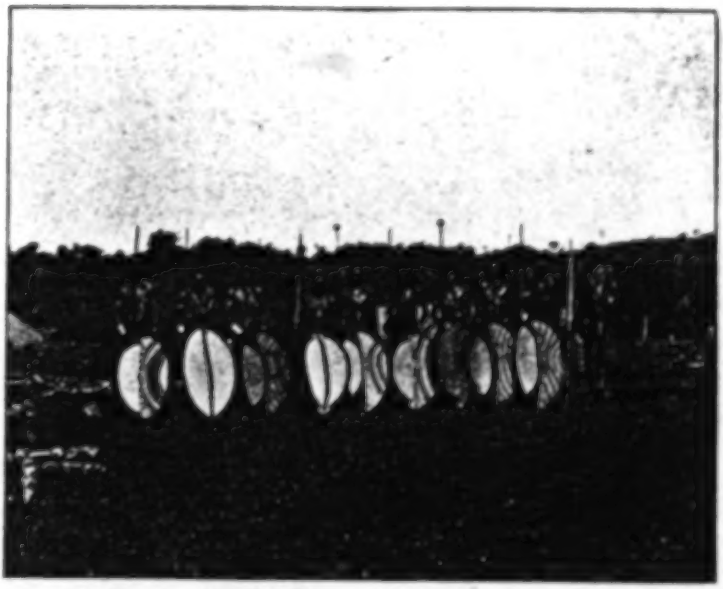

Masai warriors of various 'ages' and 'districts,' each with the shield of his 'age' and 'district.'

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Scene on the Uganda Railway. Masai and other passengers.

[Facing P. XXVIII]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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MASAI ENIGMAS

No. 24. *Enigma.*	Tununko Fold	'n-dapan, the-skins,	maape let-us-go	Kinokop. Kinangop.
Reply.	'N-gidofigo The-tails	oo-'n-diain. of-the-bitches.		

What is folding up the skins and going to Kinangop like?
The bitches' tails.

[This is a well-known saying amongst the Masai of Kilima Njaro. Kinangop (or better, Kinokop or Kinobop) is the name of a sub-district near Naivasha, and is some 300 miles from Kilima Njaro. It is supposed that the way there would resemble a bitch's curly tail.]

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[34]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 260]

PART IV

'OROT OO-'L-MAASAE

DIVISIONS OF THE MASAI PEOPLE

619 101 The Masai race is divided into two sections, the one entirely pastoral and the other partially agricultural. The pastoral Masai call themselves Il-Maasae, whilst their brethren are known as 'L-Olkop or Il-Lumbwa.

101 614 634 The Masai are further divided genealogically into clans and families, and geographically into districts and sub-districts, as shown in the following tables:

Clans.	Families[1].
'L-Aiser.	'N-Gidongi (the medicine-man's horns), Il-Parkeneti (the counters?), Il-Laghumae, Il-partimaro.
Il-Meligana.	'L-Aitayok, 'Siria (the designs?), Il-Marumae (the priests), Il-Makuperia (the flesh on the ribs).
Il-Mokesen.	Il-Mokesen-sate, Il-Partalale (the long-sighted ones), Il-Tarteero, Il-Kiperun (the scars?)[2], Il-Tanap-dwara (the lion-killers).
Il-Mdelyan.	Il-Mdelyan-sate, Il-Mamasita, Il-Pojos, Il-Kipuytai, Il-Moshimo, Il-Masaligia, Il-Mokooro.

Whenever representatives of the four clans take part in a raid, it is usual to refer to the Aiser and Meligana clans as 'L-oodo-kiabu (the blood-red cattle), and the Mokesen and Mdelyan clans as 'L-oorook-kiabu (the black cattle).

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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
Kaputiei or Kaptiei.	'L-oodo-kilani (the blood-red cloths), Matapato, Il-kik-ooyokye (the red trees[3]), Il-dala-le-kutuk (the fast talkers).
En-aipushe (the lake).	Purko, Kinikop (the burning country?), Il-damat, 'L-oita.
Kisongo.	Meipo (the Pangani River), 'M-baashi (the valleys), 'K-ooyokye (the red soils), Em-baghoi (name of a tree[4] and light yellow), Il-laanyi (the mistaken),

[1] Some of these families are again divided into smaller sub-sections.

[2] The members of the family called Il-Kiperun are said to be snake-charmers and rain-makers.

[3] *Erobotrya kikuyuensis*, Gilg.

[4] *Terminalia* sp.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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Districts.	Sub-Districts.
	'Mōwarak (the horns), Lo-'sokonoi (of the cassia tree), Kilepo (watering-place), Ol-osira (the-which-is-decorated), Naiñgarya-ōwarak (which astonishes the beasts of prey), Kipulul (place of many springs), 'N-gujuka (the axe handles), Ol-ñgelata (the plain between two hills), Sighirari, 'L-oita, 'Ng-orighaishi (the small stools), Ol-oitokitok (the bubbling spring), Il-Komōlo, Kitēto, Il-ketu-'m-beine, Salei.
'L-uasin-gishu[1] (the striped cattle).	'L-uasin-gishu oorook (the black striped cattle), 'L-uasin-gishu oonyokyo (the red striped cattle).
'L-Aikipyak[1].	Kimiri (pursuers), Marikōni, Il-meruesh-'n-dana (those who are not thrown down by roots), Sekin, Lo-'l-purkel (of the lowland), Le-naibor (of the white thing), Il-memonyōtu, 'L-alikinani, 'L-ooibor-oiñgok (the white bulls), Loo-dōtwarare, Il-marmar, Lo-'sekelae, 'L-aringon, Eng-añg e-Lema (Lema's kraal), Il-loijo, 'L-aisi.

When the article forms a part of the above names, the vowel is omitted if it follows a word ending in a vowel.

Alo 'N-aipoeha	I go to Naivasha.
Alo 'L-oitokitok	I go to Loitokitok.

The Masai reckon time by 'ages' or periods of about seven and a half years. The following account of the Masai ages is given in the words of the Masai themselves.

Eata 'l-Maasae 'l-porori lenye.

Memurati 'n-gera te-'wāji nēbo. Edung áitaa 'l-porori, metushuli áitaa ol-poror ōbo, amu merisyoro pókin; emurati 'l-kituak, nepali 'l-ooti metubulu.

Ore lekwa kituak ooiteraki samurat nēji e-murata e-tatēne,

The Masai have what they call ages.

Children are not all circumcised together: they are divided up into ages, for they are not all alike in point of years. First of all the big ones are circumcised, and the small ones wait until they grow up (i.e. until they reach the age of puberty).

Now, those who are circumcised first belong to what is called the

[1] Owing to cattle plague, disease, and civil wars, the Masai occupying the Uasin-gishu and Aikipyak districts have practically ceased to exist. The remnants have been scattered and mixed with other tribes.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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'L-omon loo-'l-loñgoi oo 'm-bəria oo-'l-muran loo-'l-Maasae.

Itadua, 'l-loñgoi oo-'l-muran mepiki o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Metii ol-poror lemeata o-sirei lenye, meñgar aii 'l-oshon i-sirei, metii 'l-muran lo-'l-osho lemeata o-sirei lenye.

Amu ōjo pe ten etumo 'l-muran oo 'l-mañgati, neiyōlōuni 'njere ol-poror ōja, kake lo-'l-osho ōje.

Etii 'sirei ooñgwan loo-'l-loñgoi, o-sirei onyokye, o o-sirei orok, o o-sirei le-'l-loñgo, o o-sirei loo-'l-kigeluni.

Ore 'm-bəria oo-'l-muran mepiki aii o-sirei ōbo; ōorioro.

Ore ten edoli em-bere, neiyōlōuni to-'l-figorat ol-poror ōje ol-openy, o ol-osho ōje.

Concerning the shields and spears of the Masai warriors.

714 531 634 561

The warriors' shields are not all of one design; they differ.

Each age and each sub-district has its own design.

In consequence, if the warriors meet an enemy, it is known to what age such a one belongs, and also to what sub-district.

There are four markings for the shields, the red one, the black one, the ornamental one, and the one for bravery [1].

411 531 634 561

Likewise with the spears, they are not all marked alike.

If a spear is found, it can be ascertained by looking at the lower part to what age and also to what sub-district its owner belongs.

'L-omon loo-'m-baa oo-'l-móruak loo-'l-Maasae.

Eata 'l-móruak i-sirei lenye too-'m-baa anaa eata 'l-muran too-'m-bəria.

Ten edoli em-baa, neiyōlōuni ol-aji lo-'l-openy o ol-osho lenye.

Concerning the arrows of the Masai elders.

The old men have special marks for their arrows as the warriors have for their spears.

If an arrow is found, the generation and the sub-district to which its owner belongs can be recognized.

[1] The Masai make use of four colours in ornamenting their shields—white, red, black, and grey. White is obtained by mixing water with white clay; red clay mixed with the juice of the *Solanum campylacanthum*, Hochst., produces the red paint; black is procured from the ashes of *Marua uniflora*, Vahl., or from charred potsherds and gourds; and grey, which is but rarely used, is obtained from cinders.

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1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

[End Map(A), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

SAI, THEIR LANGUAGE & FOLKLORE."

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103
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133
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[End map (B), between pp. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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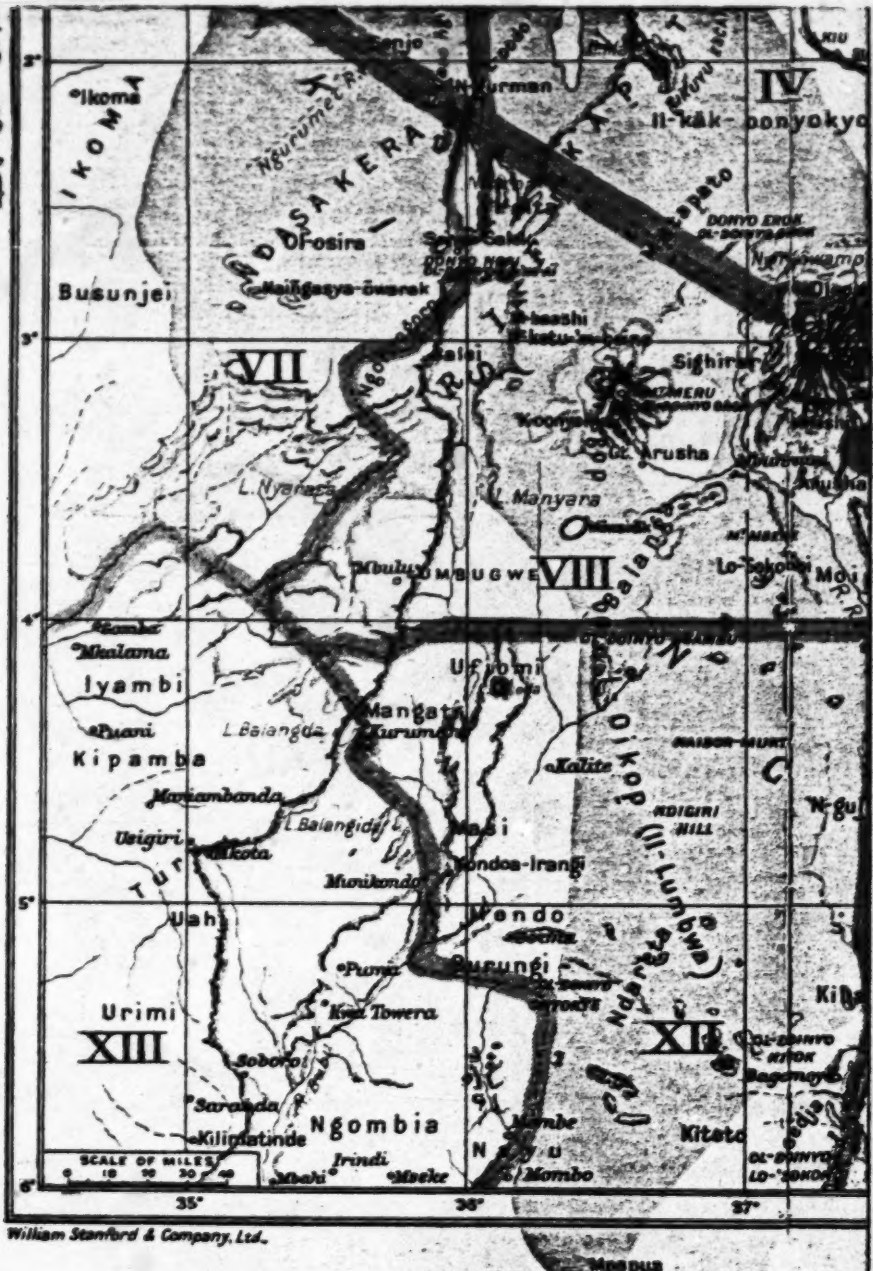

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PROVINCES: I Kisumu. II Naivasha. III Kenya. IV Ukamb
IX West-Usambara. X Tanga. XI Pangani.
Railways Boundarie
Masai name written
Masailand marked

[End Map (C), between PP. 356 & 357]

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

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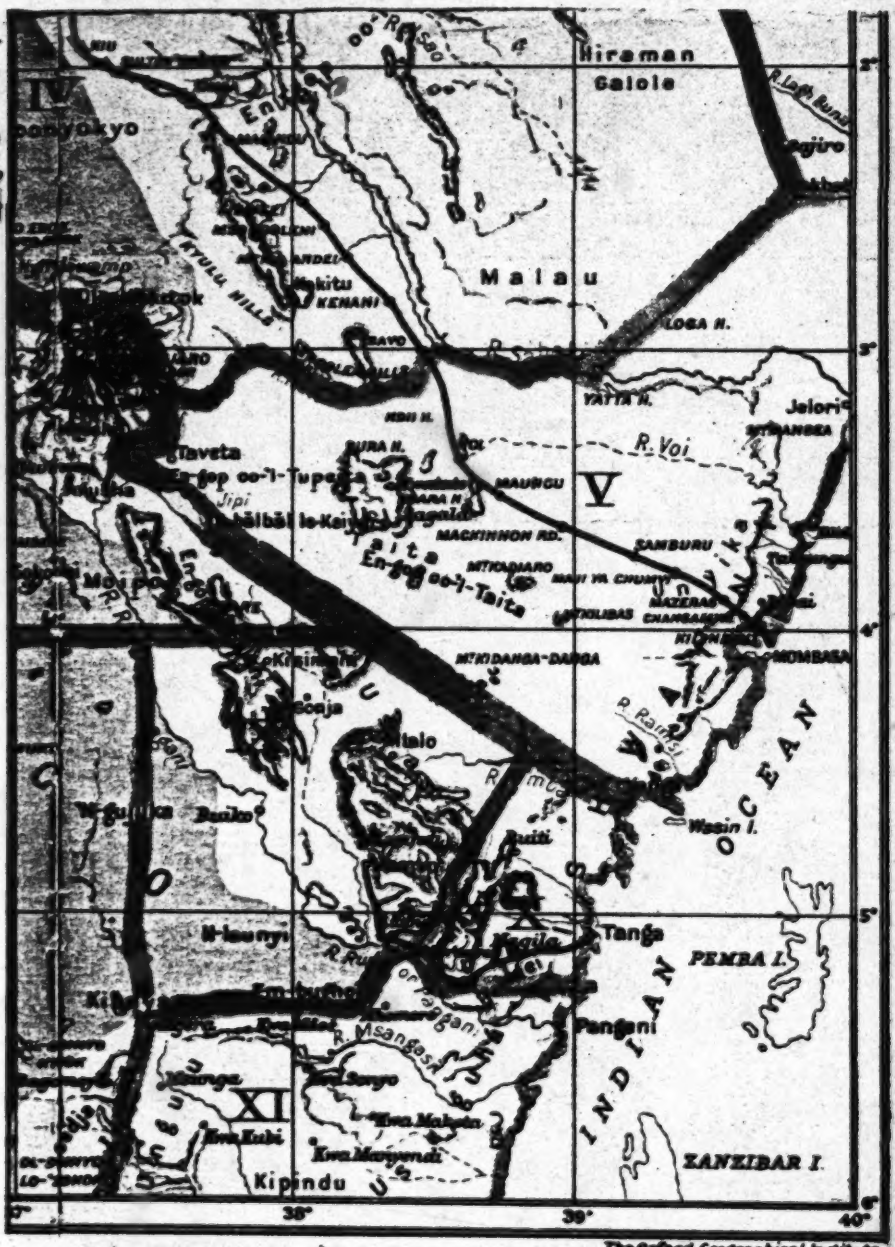

[End map (D), between pp. 356 & 357]

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

On the whole, those two authorities stress the linguistic unity of all the Masai.

The great majority of the Masai are pastoral, only very few tribes having taken to agriculture. The pastoral tribes follow a semi-nomadic way of life. "They move", writes Lord HAILEY,[3] "with their herds in order to avail themselves of the seasonal variations in water supplies, so that in effect they practise a system of rotational grazing". The same writer,[4] reports "a recent estimate" of Masai herds in Kenya which puts "the number of cattle at over 700,000, with 800,000 sheep and a large number of donkeys". For Tanganyika he gives no figure. The above estimates show clearly enough how the attitude of the Masai to cattle is a paramount feature of their life. To own cattle is a privilege obtained through initiation, and large herds are a sign of outstanding social status. Cattle are the main economic interest and investment for the Masai.[5]

The total population of all the Masai may be reckoned at about 122,792. The 1948 census of Kenya's population (see Bibl.) gives for the Samburu an estimate of 20,000, and the following figures: Njemps 3,423, the other Masai 67,201. In 1931 the Tanganyika Masai were reckoned as 32, 168.

* * *

Under the present political situation, the Masai are not administered as a single unit, for they are divided into two sections by the border of Tanganyika Territory and Kenya Colony.

In Tanganyika the Masai form one of the four districts of the Territory's Northern Province (the Masai District). In Kenya the main group inhabits the reserve adjoining Tanganyika Masai District, and constitutes the Extra Provincial District (Masai District) of the Colony. The other group (Samburu and Njamusi) is incorporated with the Rift Valley Province (Samburu and Baringo District), and partly with the Northern Frontier Province. The geographical separation of the Samburu from the other Masai is the reason why the Samburu were considered, and are still considered, as a non-Masai tribe. But, as BEYAN remarks, they are true Masai. The splitting of Masailand and the separation of the Masai were made

[3] HAILEY, *Native Administration in the British African Territories, Part I*, London 1950, p. 281.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 167.

[5] In this connection see the article of L. JAMES, in *Africa*, 12, pp. 49 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

permanent by the present administrative arrangement, but were not established by it. The land which divides the Samburu in the north from the Kapiti in the south of Kenya, was once the home of the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu Masai. In those days, Masailand was a continuous strip of land stretching over the plains south of Mt. Kilimanjaro and Mt. Meru up to the shores of Lake Rudolph. At the end of 19th century a great cattle plague and, even more, civil wars (the Kapiti versus the Laikipiak and Uasin Gishu) wrought havoc among the latter, who were almost destroyed. The few remnants have been absorbed by other Masai tribes, especially the Kapiti and the Kisongo. The Laikipiak plains west of Nanyuki which in 1904 had first been set aside as a special reserve (the Northern Masai reserve), were subsequently declared open to European settlement, and by 1911 Agreement the Southern Masai Reserve was enlarged into what is now the Extra Provincial District of the Masai in Kenya Colony. [1]

* * *

A comparative analysis of the literature shows the existence of three graded territorial units, the major and the minor territorial sections, and the village. A character common to the first two sections is the absence of a clear limit or boundary. The sections are spoken of in terms of watering and grazing rights. The nomadic aspect of Masai life is chiefly responsible for this territorial vagueness. The absence of any centralised authority to check people and cattle's transhumance is another important cause of the vagueness of Masai territorial organisation.

The major territorial section is made up by the area in which the movements of a full tribe usually take place. The existence of

[1] SANDFORD, *An Administrative and Political History of the Masai Reserve*, London 1919, Appendix; *K. L. C. E.*, p. 188. One may note that the Uasin Gishu and the Laikipiak, together with the Siria and the Lumbwa were despised as inferior, for they were not considered as "pure Masai" by the other tribes who regarded themselves as descendants of Maasinda. See FOSBROOKE, p. 7. This ill-feeling may explain in part, the fury with which the Kapiti fought against the Laikipiak and the Uasin Gishu.

In December 1950. I visited the Ndigirri Dorobo at Dol Dol on the Mukogodo Hills, some 50 miles north west of Nanyuki. They claim to have been dependent on the Laikipiak Masai, and they survived the slaughter thanks to their seclusion in the forests. Their present outlook seems to be entirely Masai. The names of their age-classes are consonant with those of the Masai.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955. FL12 Masai FL12

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these sections is evidenced at a superficial level by the adoption of a common tribal name. But members of a major section are more closely bound by their social, ceremonial and military relationships based on their common age-system. FOSBROOKE, [7] who did not consider the major territorial section as a unit of Masai territorial organisation, tries to explain as follows the Kisongo major section: "the majority of the Masai in Tanganyika regard themselves as Kissongo, but Kissongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". [8] See: below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation. The early fieldresearchers, MERKER and HOLLIS, recorded the major territorial sections which they calle 'Provinzen' and 'Districts', respectively. MERKER, [9] gave their number as three: Kisongo, Loita and Ol Bruggo. HOLLIS, [10] counted five: Kaputiei (Kapite plains) En aiposha (Naivasha), Kisongo (south and West Kilimanjaro), Uasin Gishu and 'L-Aikipiak. He noted that the last two had practically ceased to exist. The point is also confirmed by S. L. HINDE. [11] The term *en-gop*, pl. *in-gwapi*, which HOLLIS translates as "the land, the country", seems to apply to these major sections. Their number corresponds, at present, to the linguistic groups we have reported.

The minor territorial section has been made the subject of special analysis by FOSBROOKE. He defines it as "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exlusion of other sections. Such a unit is called *ol osho*, pl. *il oishon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular *laibon*, and in performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers". [12]

The absence of definite geographical limits and the stress on water and grazing rights have been noted. The *laibon's*, or prophet,

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[7] FOSBROOKE, *An Administrative Survey of the Masai Social System*, in *T. N. and R.*, 1948, p. 9.

[8] See below *laibon's* relationship to Masai social organisation.

[9] MERKER, *Die Masai: ethnographische Monographie eines ostafrikanischen Semitenvolkes*, Berlin 1904, p. 8.

[10] HOLLIS, *The Masai*, Oxford 1905, pp. 260, 290.

[11] HINDE, *The Last of the Masai*, London 1901, pp. 91, 97.

[12] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 7 ss.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

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position in connection with the nature of the major and minor territorial sections is questionable. FOSBROOKE has put into evidence the marginal significance of the *laibon* for Masai social organisation. He has also shown how wrong it is to ascribe to the prophet's institution a political function. The prophet can only obtain a personal political influence which is his, and not of his office. Now, to describe the *laibon's* institution as the point of allegiance of territorial sections' members is tantamount to making the prophet a central political authority which he is certainly not. The important point in the nature of the territorial sections is members' consciousness of their strength and sufficiency as to be entitled to keep tribal ceremonies of their own.[13] In studying the Laitayok minor section FOSBROOKE brings that home: "in some areas they (the Laitayok) have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually they came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own". FOSBROOKE insists on the fortuitous origin of the territorial minor sections. The point becomes obvious if the nomadism of the Masai and the abselce of any centralised authority are kept in mind. People remain in a definite place only for as long as [22] they find good grazing and water for their cattle, but they move as soon as these fail, thus breaking up their territorial allegiance.

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The following is a tentative list of minor territorial sections deducted from the literature:

SAMBURU.	1. Pusigishu	4. L'Orogishu	7. Longeli
	2. Masola	5. Doiju	8. Nyabarei
	3. Lukumai	6. Mwesi	9. Loimusi

NJAMUSI. According to DUNDAS,[14] there are only two villages: Njemps Kubwa or Njemps Liabori – down stream; and Njemps Ndogo or Njemps Lekepir – up stream.

KAPITI.	1. Kaputiei or Kapiti	3. Ladokilarsi	6. Purko
		4. Kakonyuke	7. Loita
	2. Damat	5. Dalalakotok	8. Matapatu

[13] One should note here that tribal ceremonies are ceremonies connected with the institution of age-sets, a fact wich sleds light on the integrating power of the age-system. See BERNARDI, *The age-system of the Nilo-Hamitic Peoples*, in *Africa*, 22, 1952, pp. 316 ss.

[14] DUNDAS, *Notes on the Tribes inhabitating the Barino district*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 1910, p. 49.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

KISONGO.	1. Kisongo	2. Sigirari	5. Salei or Saleh
	a. Kiteto	3. Laitokitok	6. Laitayok
	b. Moiba	4. Siria	
LUMBWA.	1. Nguruman	2. Serenget	3. Engaruka

The villages, *eng ang*, pl. *ing angite*, is the minimal territorial unit. Villages are distributed within the minor sections. JOHNSTON, [15] had already noted that "they generally range within certain districts". A village is the residence of one or more elders with his or their wives and cattle. A man after his marriage does not live in the same village as his father, unless the latter has become senile and unable to cater for himself.

The internal structure of the village is based on the gatesystem. This consists in a proper arrangement of the house on the sides of the village's gates. The village consists of a large yard enclosed by a thorny fence with gates opening at opposite sides. The house are built on the right and left sides of each gate, every gate with its houses belonging to a single elder. The usual arrangement is as follows: the first house on the gate's right is the dwelling of the owner's first wife; the first house on the left side is that of his second wife; the second house on the right side is that of his third wife; and the same alternating order is followed if marries more wives. The central yard is reserved for cattle. The elder's cattle are allotted to each of his wives according to her rank in the house. Cattle in possession of one side of the gate cannot be inherited by the other side. When inheritance takes place it is with great care that one tries to avoid cattle interchange. [16] The gate system, observes FOSBROOKE, [17] is an ideal, and "a symmetrically arranged gate is seldom found in practice". When people move in search of better grassland, the village is not destroyed, but simply evacuated. During the owner's absence the houses may be occupied by other temporary tenants. At the reverse migration the owner comes back to his old village if this is not irreparably decayed, and it is agreed by custom that any foreigner who might have found shelter in the house must vacate the place to the original owner.

Another type of Masai village should be mentioned here. It is

[15] JOHNSTON, *The Uganda Protectorate*, London 1904, p. 810.
[16] See especially MERKER, *l. c.*, pp. 27 s.
[17] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 44.

2: Bernardi E, M-4 (no date) 1955 FL12 Masai FL12

the temporary residence of unmarried initiates or "warriors", called *ol manyatta*, pl. *i manyat*. According to MERKER,[18] "in every section there is at least one warrior's village which gathers all the warriors of the section". This type of village is closely related to the age-system institution. Therefore it is not a distinct territorial unit, though it shows the inter-relationship of the age-system and territorial organisation for its tenants are gathered from different villages. Indeed this is a further instance of the age-system's integrating power.[19]

* * *

Masai society is divided into two moieties, *en daloshi*, pl. *in daloishin*, which seem to provide a basis for clan organisation. Every Masai is found in either of the two moieties. These are named after cattle, one: *orok kiteng* — the black cattle, the other: *oodo mongi* — the red bulls. No exogamic restriction is attached to the moieties, but, they seem to have an influence on military organisation. "Whenever", writes HOLLIS,[20] "the representatives of the clans take part in a raid", they are organised according to their moiety, and the loot is divided "into two parts, one part for each of these main groups".[21] MERKER, states that the words *orok kiteng* and *oodo mongi* are war-cries shouted by warriors according to their moiety. FOSBROOKE,[22] writes that the *orok kiteng* "are regarded as the right hand of the tribe", and the *oodo mongi* as the "left hand". He adds also that this dual division is typical of the "true Masai".

At the present there is no apparent relationship between the moiety and the territorial system, but a few indications suggest that such a relationship existed in the past. Thus, in Laitokitok section, according to FOX[23] there is an equal number of "black

[18] MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 82.

[19] BERNARDI, *l., c.*, p. 325.

[20] HOLLIS, *l., c.*, p. 260.

[21] See also MERKER, *l., c.*, p. 97; FOX, *Further notes on the Masai of Kenya Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 60, 1930, p. 457; HOBLEY, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African tribes*, Cambridge 1910, p. 121, who states that the moiety divisions were followed for cattle-bree-ding purposes. Among the Turkana, the moieties or alternations were distinguished by different war songs or cries and tactical movements. See EMLEY, *The Turkana of Kolosia District*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 43, 1927, pp. 165 s.

[22] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 48.

[23] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 457.

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cattle" and "red bulls". HOLLIS,[24] recorded two subdivisions of the Uasin Gishu, "the black striped cattle", and "the red striped cattle", which were, very probably, no other thing than the moieties. 614 634

The Masai *clans*, *ol gilata*, pl. *il gilata* or *en gishomi*, pl. *in gishomi*, are patrilineal and exogamous. Generally, they do not seem to be totemic. However, HOBLEY,[25] and the author of *MS.* No. 48 have recorded the names of a few clan totem. FOX,[26] refers also to the association of snakes with some clans. 614

The true exogamic unit of the Masai seems to be any individed unit, either clan or branch of the clan. A Masai may be adopted into another clan then his original one. The same provision applies even to an alien (Kikuyu, Dorobo). The adoptee, however, never attains the same social status as a full member of the clan. He is free to leave at any time, provided he returns whatever he was presented by his patrons, such as cattle or any other valuable. 614 597 [554]

The relationship between clans and their territorial distribution is not very clear. Analysis would suggest that in the past, clans were territorially separated. At present, there is still a tendency for members of the same clan to live close by to one another and occupy neighbouring encampments. Some sections are almost made up by members of a single clan. Thus, the *Molelian* clan is predominant in Kapiti section; the *Atayok* clan is predominant in Dalalakotok section. Such facts, however, seem to be the exception. Usually clans are represented at a time in many different sections "There is no rule", writes HOBLEY,[27] "governing the distribution of the various *gilat* (clans); often members of as many as three *gilat* will be found in one *moru engang* (elders' village) or a *moran manyat* (warriors' village)". 614 361

Water and cattle are generally clan possession. When new water sources are discovered, they are claimed on behalf of the clan. All clan members who live in the neighbourhood are entitled to make use of them. A foreigner may also be allowed to water his cattle there. If disputes arise, they are settled by the council of clan-members on the spot. As a matter of fact, these water sources are the centre of ordinary social life, as FOSBROOKE[28] writes: "The 614 623 312 423

[24] HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 458.
[25] HOBLEY, *l. c.*, p. 129.
[26] FOX, l. c., p. 458.
[27] HOBLEY, *Eastern Uganda. An ethnological Survey*, London 1902, p. 122.
[28] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 42.

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881 of so-and-so. When he replies to his name, he is told to go and make
593 a profit. He answers: " Herds and flocks ". This is repeated four times, and the ceremony is over ".

554 The ceremony is performed only once in a man's life, namely
561 when he " wishes to have his eldest child circumcised ". This par-
881 ticular circumstance shows that by " the passing of the fence " a
593 man obtains a special elderly status which gives him a right to have all his children initiated.

Thus, there is a relationship between the father's social status and the initiation into the age-class of his son's. None of these may be initiated unless the father has reached the proper status. The personal status of the father is reflected on his children. Therefore the " passing of the fence " is not in itself part of the age-system initiation, but a condition which must have been observed before a man is allowed to have his sons initiated.

[565] Other authorities (Fox) have stressed the fact that class membership of a Masai is somehow dictated by the class to which his father belongs. " The passing of the fence " gives a special emphasis to this fact and shows how a Masai's initiation into a class is conditioned by the social status of his father. It shows how the structure of Masai society stands on the balance of status of its members. [41]

881 " *The tearing of the ox* " (*Embolosat ol Kiteng*). [42] Though this
● 634 ceremony is performed by a single section or a group of sections,
[184] its performance has a far reaching value which is accepted throughout Masailand. The ceremony is performed by such sections as the Kakonyuke, the Dalalakotok and the Purko (all Kapiti). According to Fox the Kisongo also perform it. But this is denied by Fosbrooke,
[114] who qualifies Fox's statement by saying that the Kisongo acknowledge and respect the value of the ceremony performed by the Kakonyuke.

881 As a matter of fact special importance is attached to the ceremony
56 performed by the Kakonyuke, who in any case must be the first
634 to do it and who have the lead in the matter. All the sections which

[41] The social balance between the father and his son is only an expression of a wider and basic principle, which, in our opinion, is an essential principle of Masai social organisation: the principle of the distribution of power. See Bernardi, *l. c.*, pp. 326 ss.

[42] Fox, *Notes on Marriage Customs among the Masai*, in *J. E. A. U. N. H. S.*, 42-43, 1931, pp. 189 s.; Leaky, *l. c.*, p. 448: *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11; 1927, p. 15, n. 61; Fosbrooke, *l. c.*, p. 27.

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do not hold their own ceremony come to, or acknowledge, the Kakonyuke ceremony. This is a point to be carefully noted. [881] [561] [634]

Embolosat is preliminary not only to the circumcision ceremony, but also to any other initiation ceremony.

Three different stages make up the whole of the ceremony, namely the election of the master of ceremonies, the contest, and the sacrifice of a bull followed by the naming of the age-unit.

a) The ceremony is organised by the elders. Their first task is to select a youth qualified to be master of the ceremonies (*ol opolos ol Kiteng*). They also must obtain his father's consent on payment of some heifers.

The transaction is kept secret because the office is not popular with the youths. The elders' nominee is then seized in order that he may not escape, and told what is in store for him.

Not every boy is eligible for the office, but only a member of the *Lugumai* clan. The *ol opolos* must wear the garments and the ear-ornaments (*surutya*) of the elders, whose status he is to be invested with, which seems the reason for the reluctance to accept the office. The status of the *ol opolos* is ceremonial and, according to Fox, he has no function outside the *Embolosat*. [614] [554]

The *ol opolos* has to supply the ceremonial bull, " without blemish, colour black with white breast ", [43] and the ceremony is completed at his village which is enlarged for the occasion. [44]

b) The day of the contest is fixed by the elders. In the morning the bull is taken back to the village, while the elders officially introduce the *ol opolos* to the other candidates. These are told to look up to him because he is their *ol opolos*. Then, the elders order the bull into the village and immediately the boys rush in to get hold of it.

Not all the boys enter the competition, only a few from each attending section. [45]

Members of the Kakonyuke section make a point of being victorious. The contest is stopped by the elders as soon as victory is [634]

[43] In the Annual Report, *NAD*, 1926, p. 9, n. 11, we are told that the " black ox is fed one day on milk and native beer, not being allowed to eat grass ".

[44] According to Leakey a special new village is built.

[45] Leaky writes that " only three candidates for initiation whose fathers took part in a horn-seizing ceremony are allowed to take part; the rest of the candidates cannot do so, but stay at their houses while the ceremony takes place ".

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The value of the Kakonyuke *Embolosat* is further ascertained from the analogous value of *Ngeherr* proper of the Kisongo. This is a ceremony perfecting the institution of a class. It is performed by the Kisongo and accepted by all the Masai of Tanganyika and Kenya. *See below.*

The fact that sections other than the Kakonyuke hold their own ceremony may probably be ascribed to the tendency of the section to act as independent group. Their performance, at any rate, has only a limited local value.

Endungore – Engibata. [48] It appears that these two ceremonies, *Endungore* and *Engibata* are closely connected, if not actually one single ceremony. [49] The aim of *Endungore-Engibata* is to define the period for the institution of the age-units and start the initiation course related to such institution. The ceremony is performed by "the right hand and the left hand" age units, i. e. before the institution of each of the two units (WHITEHOUSE, MERKER, FOSBROOKE).

Some of our authorities stress the fact that the first step towards initiation must be taken by the boys. This is true, but the decision to hold the ceremony rests entirely with the elders, and the aim of the candidates' action on the elders is merely to convince that the time is ripe for the decision.

The elders contacted by the boys are members of the class next but one above the class which is to be formed by the candidates. [50]

It is not the leading elders that the candidates contact first, but others, whose duty, apparently, is to instruct them on the right way and method of approaching the leaders of the elders' class.

Those who are to see the elders are selected with care. They "must be pure bred Masai and must have some knowledge of ceremonial routine" (DAWSON).

It is relevant to note these details. They show how the prospec-

[48] MERKER, *l. c.*, p. 61; BAGGE, *The circumcision ceremony among the Nawasha Masai*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 34, 1904, p. 168; HOLLIS, *l. c.*, p. 196; LEAKEY, 187 ss.; FOX, *Further Notes on the Masai of Kenia Colony*, in *J. R. A. I.*, 16, 1930, pp. 448 ss.; WHITEHOUSE, *l. c.*, pp. 146 ss.; DAWSON, *Notes on (a) Engapata ceremony, (b) milk drinking ceremony, (c) Ol Keremby*, pp. 1 ss.; *NAD*, 1932, p. 22, n. 63; *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54; FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, pp. 16 s, 27 s.

[49] According to WHITEHOUSE *engibata* is the name of a dance which starts the *endugore*.

[50] In these and the following paragraphs whenever we refer to the elders" we intend the members of this class, unless otherwise stated.

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Endungore-Engibata is performed both by the 'right-hand' and the 'left-hand' age units. This shows that the ceremony has a direct effect on the institution of the age units as such and not as coefficients of the age-class. The formation of the age unit takes place during an official period in which all its prospective members must be properly initiated. This official period is primarily defined by the performance of ***Endungore-Engibata***.

Endungore-Engibata obtains its value by emphasizing the negative aspect of the new initiation period, namely by making it illegal, a new ***piron***-relationship having been established, to initiate any one except on the new ***piron***-elders' authority, and by closing the association of further members to the previous age-unit. [80]

Engibata, therefore is to be considered as the opening ceremony for the institution of the age unit. After ***Engibata*** candidates are legally initiated and automatically, i. e. precisely for having been initiated during a definite approved period, become members of that age unit.

From a territorial point of view ***Endungore-Engibata*** is a sectional ceremony. It is performed by minor territorial sections, but no single performance is acknowledged throughout Masailand, as in the case of ***Embolosat***. This makes clear the different value of ***Embolosat*** and of ***Endungore-Engibata***. ***Embolosat*** opens the period for the institution of the age-class, and therefore its value is accepted

lage) and drank the beer themselves. It is confirmed by numerous reliable elders, that, even if the *laibon* had given his sanction for the circumcision, the *Dareto* elders would have been justified in acting as they did". Note the prophet's limited authority.

[80] This is clearly shown by the case reported by FOSBROOKE and quoted in previous footnote. The *Dwavi* man had failed to inform the *Dareto* elders (the *piron*-elders) of his intention, and very probably his sons' initiation was intended to be performed by the outgone *piron*-elders. If the *Dwati* man had his own way, his sons would have become members of the last age-unit, but illegaly: hence the so strong objection of the *Dareto* elders. The above explanation is confirmed by what MERKER, pp. 70 s., states, namely that a fourth minimal division, *el oirogua*, could be formed by those who were circumcised immediately before the official closing of the period for individual initiation. See below. In *NAD*, 1937, p. 32, n. 54, we read as follows: " the Officer in charge reported that a number of *layok*. (uncircumcised boys) who would have been too old to await the next '*Ngebata*' were circumcised and incorporated in the *Kidoto* age ". Probably this is a similar case as that referred to by MERKER. The case shows that there is a definite closing time for every set. After this time every new initiate will be associated with a new set.

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561 [554] feeling of corporate responsibility and membership, which is a typical feature of the age-class system.

It seems certain that the left-hand unit does not group as many members as the right-hand unit. According to FOSBROOKE, the left-hand unit is formed only by the three last-named minimal divisions; FOX states that it may not occur at all.

561 634 The following tables illustrate the situation.

The first table is reproduced from FOSBROOKE (1939). [55] It refers to the number of age-unit members in four different places of the Kisongo section:

PLACES		Kibaya	Samatwa	Engasumet	Longido	TOTAL
Right-Hand Unit	Kisale	82	123	55	200	460
Left-Hand Unit	Merisho	41	36	11	34	122

The total percentage of members of the left-hand unit as compared with the right-hand unit is therefore 26%.

The second table is taken from FOX (1930). It refers to the names of the age-units:

SECTIONS	Purko	Loita and Siria	Damat
Right-Hand Unit	Il Meruturut	Il Kishangop	Il Meruturut
Left-Hand Unit	Il Kitoip	none	Il Kitoip

SECTIONS	Kaputiei Lodokilani Matapatu	Laitokitok	Kisongo
Right-Hand Unit	Il Aitetti	Il Kobosi	?
Left-Hand Unit	none	none	Il Kerimbut

561 Though the value of these tables is far from being absolute, they show that the right-hand unit is far more relevant than the left-hand unit. Indeed we find that candidates are far more anxious to join the right-hand unit than the left-hand unit. This may be explai-

[55] FOSBROOKE, *l. c.*, p. 32; SCHAPERA, *Some Problems of Anthropological Research in Kenya Colony*, in *I. A. I.*, Memorandum XXIII, 1949, p. 6. This date is taken from SCHAPERA, p. 6. SCHAPERA refers to the paper of FOSBROOKE as a manuscript. This was published in 1948.

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warriorhood ". He also states that *Unoto* " is probably the best known and most misconstrued ceremony in the Masai age-grade system ".

Unoto is not performed at a single place for whole Masailand, but in every territorial section or group of sections. [1] It consists of three main stage: (a) a testing of the candidates by the elders; (b) the election of the ceremonial leader of the unit; (c) a sacrifice of a bull.

a) The first stage takes place in a special hut called *singira*. [2] Not all the candidates, i. e., junior initiates, are allowed into the *singira*, but only those who have kept the sexual regulations which bind junior initiates. In order that no one may enter the *singira* under false pretences the entrance is bewitched by the elders. According to LEAKEY, [3] another test is performed inside the hut aiming at detecting those who have entered surreptitiously.

In the annual report of the *NAD*, [4] we read that every candidate is expected to give " an account " of his past life. " The importance of the *E-Unoto* " states the same report, " lies in the fact that it imposes an obligation upon a warrior who has disgraced himself in any way to clear himself of the stigma before he can marry and settle down as a respected Elder of the tribe ". " The *O-Singira* " says FOX, [5] " gives the warriors permission to have sexual relations with initiated women ".

b) The nomination of the ceremonial leader (*ol aunoni*, pl. *il aunok*, or *ol otuno*) takes place inside the *singira* hut. The elders

[1] LEAKEY's statement, p. 194, that at the *Unoto* " all the members of a given group (i. e., age-unit) from the whole of the Masai country, north, south, east and west are required to be present " is emphatically denied by FOX, p. 451, and FOSBROOKE, p. 29. According to FOX the following sections perform it: (a) Purko; (b) Loita and Siria; (c) Damat; (d) Kaputiei, Ledokilani and Matapatu; (e) Laitokitok; (f) Kisongo. And FOSBROOKE says that the *Unoto* is celebrated " by sections or groups of sections " and is attended by as many warriors as possible, " but by no means all ". SANDFORD, on HENNTED's authority, recorded that the *Unoto* was held by the Purko, Kakenyuke, Dalalekutuk and Damat on the Kinangop. The Sigirari, Matapato, Kaputiei and other divisions where it suited them best.

[2] There are contradictory descriptions of the *singira*. MERKER states that it is a 'very big hut'; BAGGE says " not so big "; HOLLIS " small ". Leakey and Fox state respectively " an enormous ", and a " very large " hut. Probably it all depends on the actual number of the initiates involved.

[3] LEAKEY, *l. c.*, p. 195.

[4] *NAD*, p. 21.

[5] FOX, *l. c.*, p. 452.

where unarmed natives of the neighbouring tribes, whose duty or pleasure took them into the Masai Reserve, have been wantonly murdered, and the catalogue also includes numerous instances of thefts of stock from neighbouring farms and territories. An investigation of the record of each of these cases will show that in a small number only of incidents has the perpetrator of the crime been brought to book. The probability that the commission of a stock-theft or a murder can be performed by a Masai of the "Muran" class without the knowledge of his associates is so slight that it has been found necessary to accept the principle that the responsibility for the surrender of criminals traced to any particular area rests on all the members of the section inhabiting that area. This system is in vogue throughout all the native districts of the Protectorate and is generally employed with a fair measure of success, but a similar success does not attend its application to the Masai Reserve, and this reserve is, in fact, the area to which the great majority of impositions of fines under the Collective Punishments Ordinance, 1909, have been applied, the refusal of the Masai to assist in tracing the criminal rendering it necessary to utilize the provisions of the Ordinance to effect the punishment of the whole section involved. The blinding of a cow by the murder of an unprotected wanderer or the theft of stock guarded perhaps by children is a survival of the traditions which necessitated the "Muran" to prove their manhood during the period in the standing army or the "L-Ayok" to prove their worth before circumcision. Such acts may not be regarded at the present day as valiant, but it seems that the criminal's associates have not yet come to look on them as reprehensible, and the Masai, on account of their wealth, do not possess the same dread of a collective fine as is felt by certain of the poorer tribes. Under any circumstances, the "Muran" offer no assistance in the tracking down of the criminal and the elders, though professing detective zeal, are powerless to intervene. The attitude of the section involved in such cases is one of surprise and listlessness—they never know anything—and the collective fine which may ensue has not hitherto had the result of discouraging the adoption of such an attitude.

It will generally be found that fines of this nature have been levied on Companies or "Siriti" of different class, and, sometimes, on all the members of a class or division. There is no case on record in which a collective punishment has been imposed on the Masai tribe as a whole. It is therefore necessary to refer shortly to the divisions into which the Masai, who are all of one tribe, are divided by their traditions and customs, and to note also the divisions into which they are divided in practice for the purposes of the administration of the reserve. A description of the traditional divisions of the Masai people is given in Mr. Hollis' Book on the Masai, pp. 280 and 281, but the names which are now in use to denote the divisions of the tribe within the reserve do not exclusively follow either the genealogical or the geographical divisions which are there set out. The Officer-in-Charge of the Masai reserve is endeavouring to confine the members of each division to certain areas set apart for them as locations, and this step will have the effect of reconciling the name given to a division with the locality in which it is found, thus tending to perpetuate a convenient form of nomenclature. Divisions.

Whatever may have been the original system on which these divisions were formed, it appears that there is a really marked class feeling between them, and several incidents are recorded which disclose the presence of mutual distrust and strained relationship between the divisions, while interference by one division with another is keenly resented. These divisions form the basis of the tribal organization of the Masai as it exists to-day and each division has its own Council of Elders. In the recently constituted "Masai Council," one elder, or more, has been chosen to represent each division and the Council as formed has been accepted as representative of the whole tribe. It will thus be seen that the division system presents an admirable method of dealing with the tribe, closely allied to the location system employed in other Native Reserves in the Protectorate, and has enabled unrest or crime to be so localized as to limit the liability for offences committed to certain definite sections of the Masai. Nevertheless, there is not sufficient difference in the behaviour or customs of the members of each Masai Council.

division to accumulate or render advisable a departure on their behalf from the general policy to be pursued in dealing with the tribe as a whole.

The Tribal Divisions

The Tribal Divisions of the Masai as they are recognised for the purposes of the administration of the tribe are as follows :—

Purko.

The Purko is the largest and most important division. They number about 14,500 and of these some 10,000 came from Laikipia. There are rather more than 2,000 Morans, who inhabit five large villages. The names of the "Sirita" are Il Kimaruni, Il Mariabo, L'Aimer, Il Mojasi and Il Peiyani. In 1914, the Kimaruni Purko Morans decided to divide, and while one part retained the name of Kimaruni, the other adopted the name of "Il Kimaruni". In 1917, the Purko were estimated to possess 272,000 head of cattle, 1,000,000 sheep and 5,200 donkeys. They live in the country known as Ngaiet and in Ol-Orukuti.

Loita.

The population of the Loita Division is about 5,000 of whom some 700 are Morans. This division formerly lived near Ngong but when Sendeu, their medicine-man quarrelled with Lenana, they moved into German territory returning subsequently to the Loita Hills where they now are. The Morans "Sirita" are known as Il Paragwo and Il Kimaruni. The Loita are estimated to possess 80,000 head of cattle, 250,000 sheep and 750 donkeys.

L'Otayok.

A small division known as the L'Otayok inhabits the same region as the Loita. They number about 600 of whom 60 are Morans. They are said to possess 1,000 head of cattle, 12,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small number of L'Otayok also live in German East Africa.

Salei.

The members of the Salei Division generally inhabit the Loita Country and they recognise Sendeu as their Laibon. Their population is assessed at 900 of whom about 80 are Morans. They possess 6,000 head of cattle, 15,000 sheep and 100 donkeys. A small portion of the Salei have amalgamated with the L'Odo Kilani.

Siria.

The Siria Division also recognises Sendeu as Laibon. They inhabit the Ol-Orukuti country, number about 1,200 of whom 90 are Morans, and possess 12,000 head of cattle, 25,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Il Dameri.

The Il Dameri form one location with Purko by whom they were vanquished some years ago. They are to be found on the Loita Plains and number 900 in all of whom 60 are Morans. They are estimated to possess 4,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 100 donkeys (see p. 37).

Kakonyukye.

The members of the Kakonyukye Division number 3,000, of whom 250 are Morans, and possess 30,000 head of cattle, 200,000 sheep and 2,000 donkeys. They inhabit the country known as Il Molili and Mosiro, and the neighbourhood of Mount Suswa. The "Sirita" of the Morans are named Il Mojasli, Il Paragwo and Il Kidemani.

L'Odo Kilani.

The L'Odo Kilani Division inhabits the country near the German border south of Lake Magadi. The population numbers 1,200 of whom 80 are Morans, and they possess 10,000 head of cattle, 30,000 sheep and 150 donkeys. The Morans are divided into two "Sirita" both known as Il Kidemani.

Ngurumun.

The Ngurumun form a survival of the old agricultural Masai, but they have discontinued agriculture and now live in the same manner as the pastoralists. They inhabit the country near the mouth of the Uaso Nyiro River. They number 400, of whom 40 are Morans, and possess 1,000 head of cattle, 10,000 sheep and 50 donkeys.

Matapato.

The Matapato number 2,400, possess 40,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Their Morans number 160 and are divided into three "Sirita" named Il Kilumi, Il Tetimia and Seure, and they inhabit the country between Kajiado and the German border.

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[Chart of positions of Map facing p. 6]

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P. 6-A]

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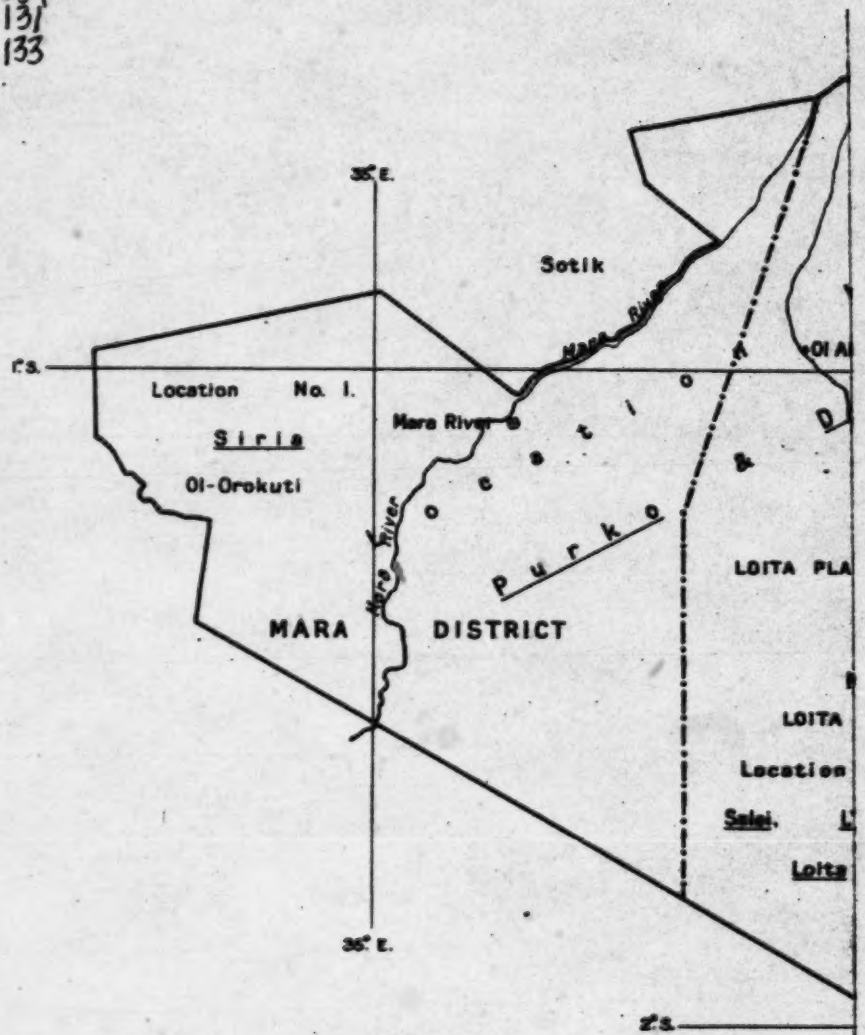
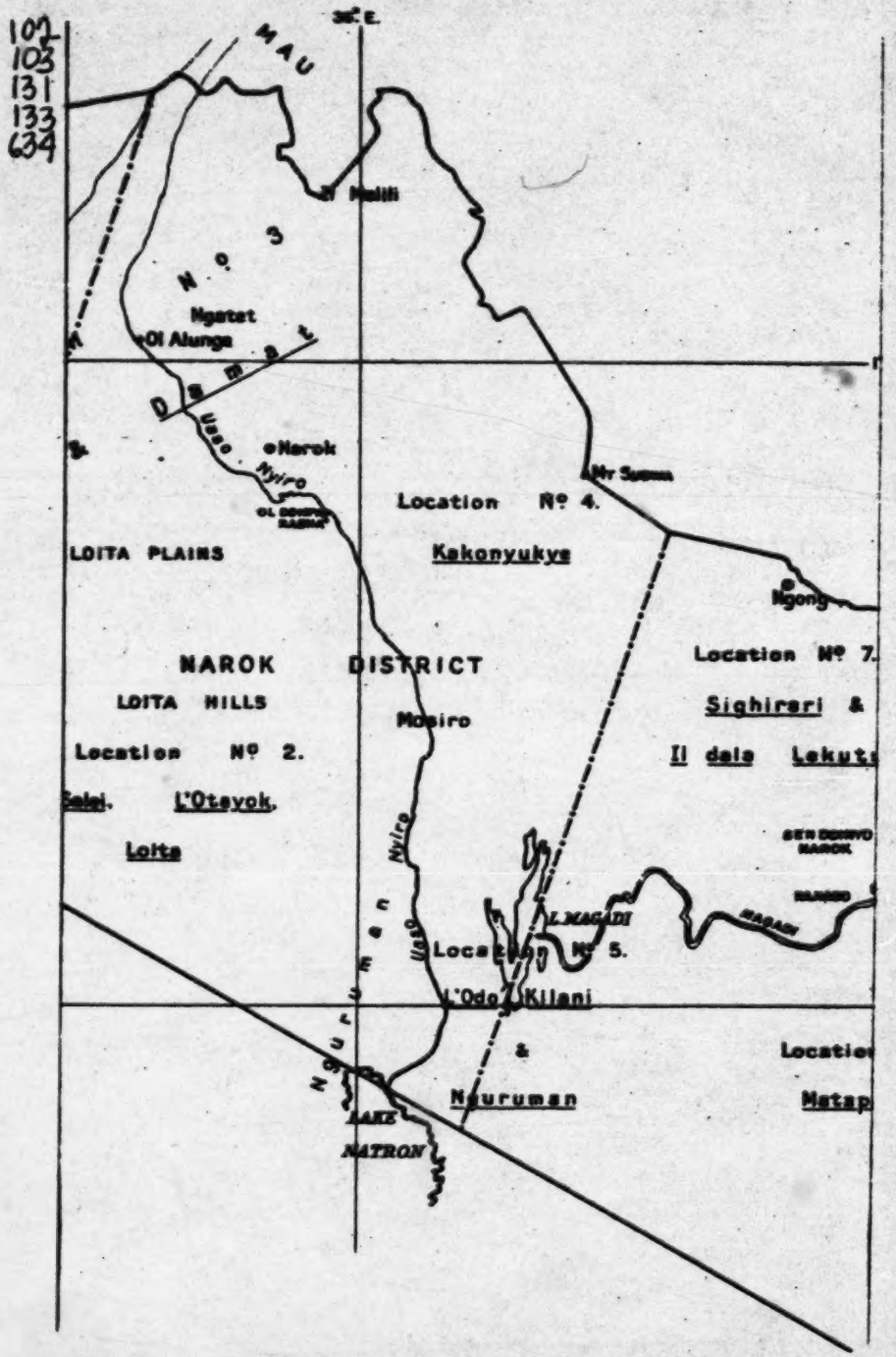


4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12
[P. 6-B]



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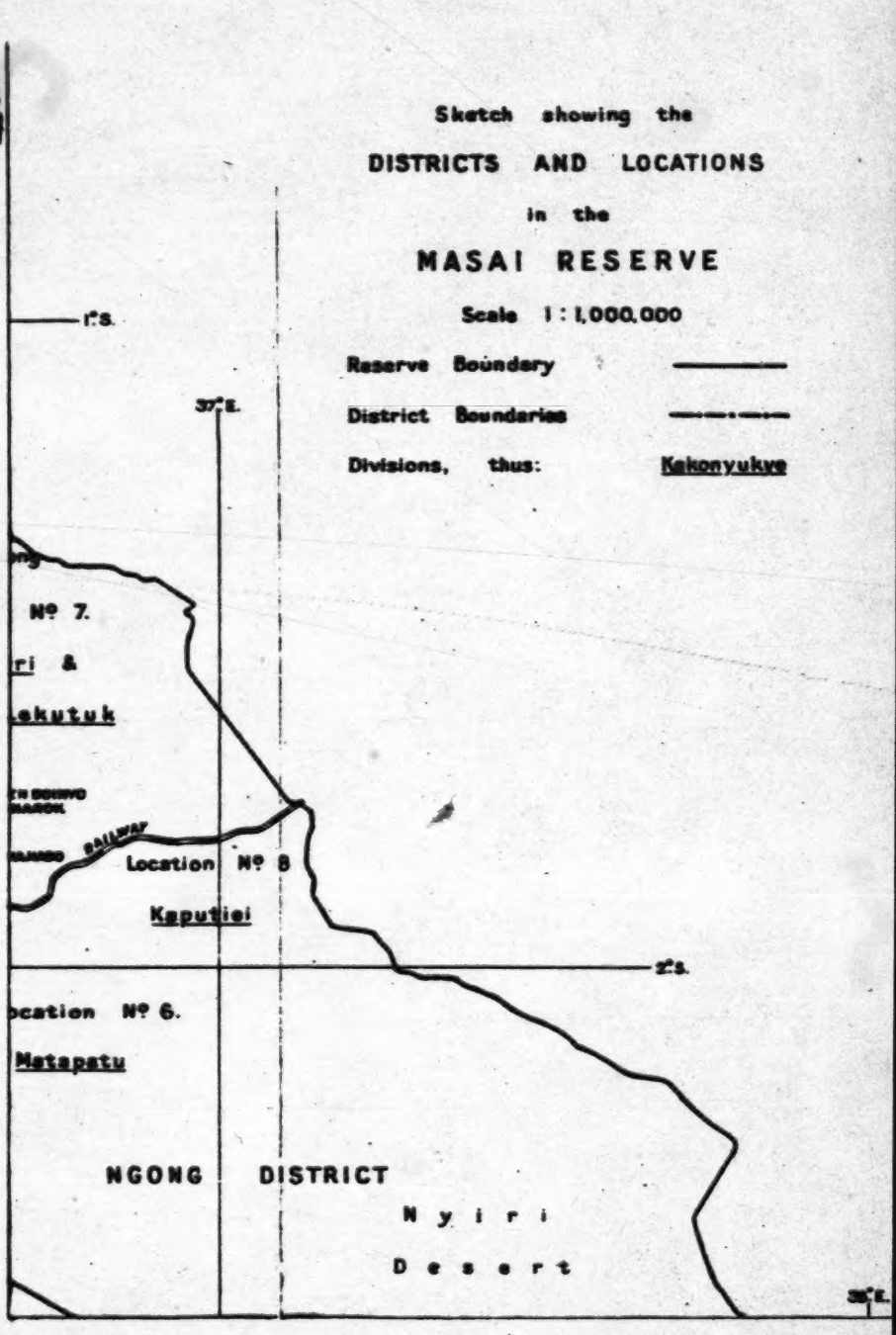

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

[P.6-D]

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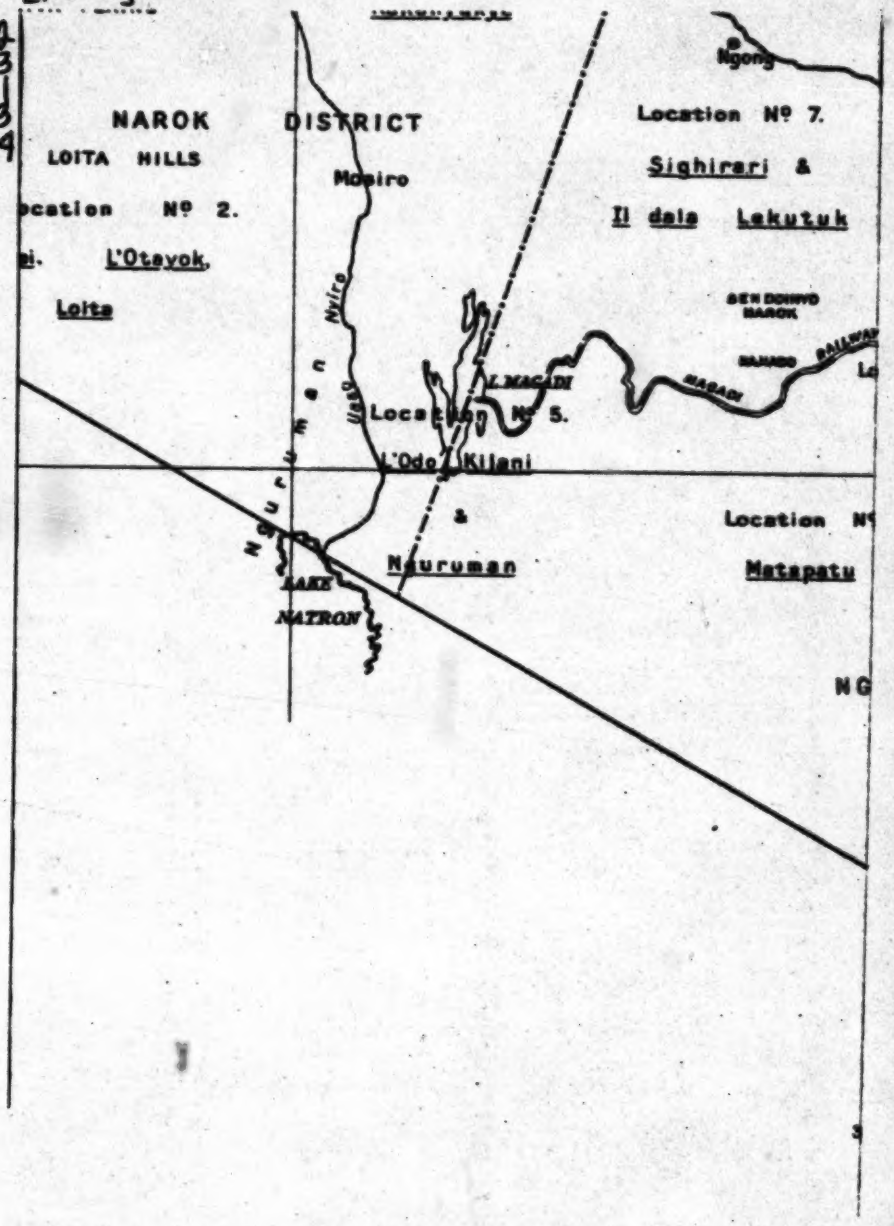

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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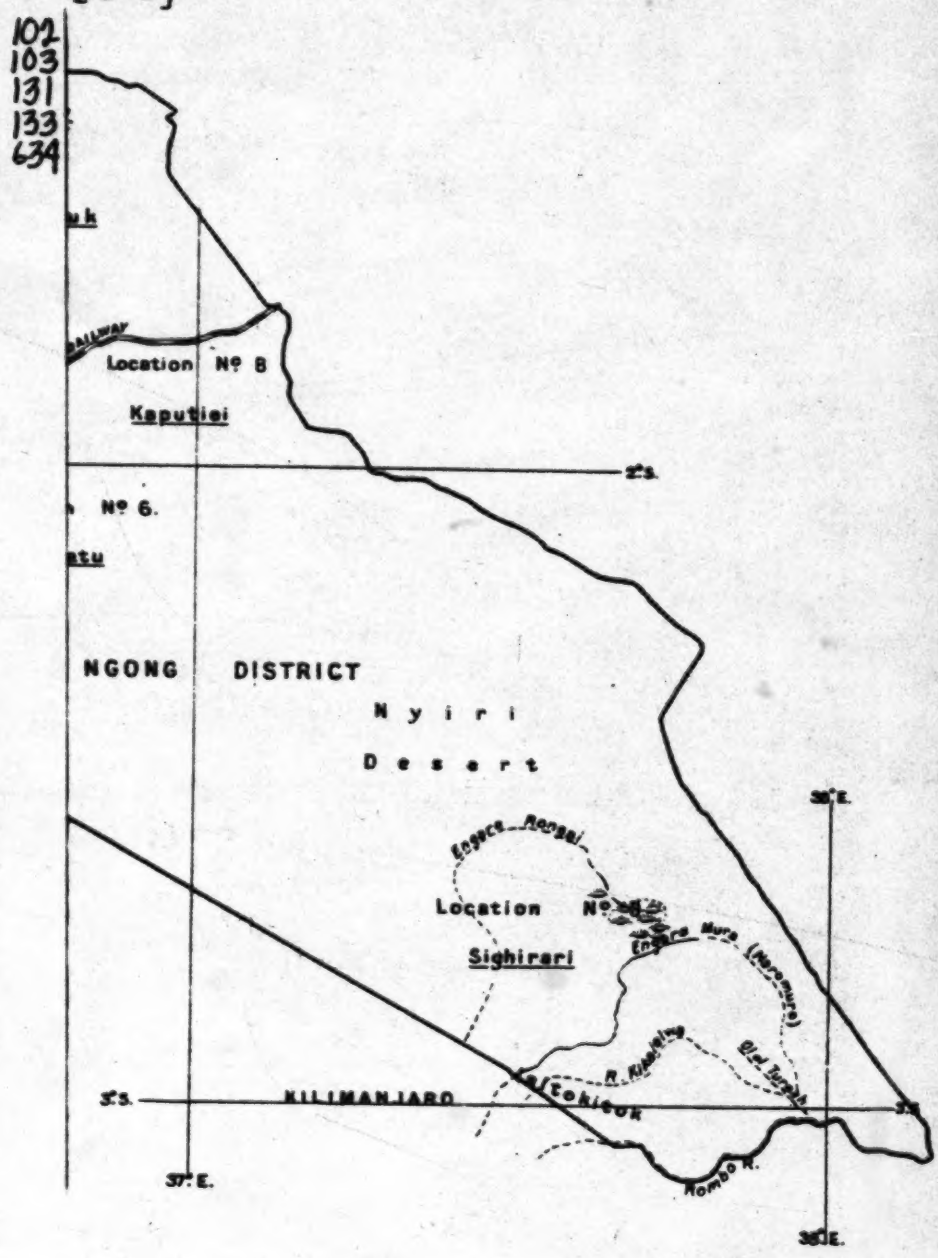

634 162 561 231 The Sighirari of the Engidongi inhabit the country in the neighbourhood of the Ngong Hills and En Doinyo Narok. To this division belong the medicine-men of the L'Aiser Gilata of whom Seggi is now the chief. The Division is estimated to possess a population of 1,900 of whom 120 are Muran, 28,000 head of cattle, 80,000 sheep and 300 donkeys. Sighirari of the Engidongi.

[563] [144] The Il Dala Lekutuk came from Laikipia in 1912 and are sometimes known as the Nyeri Masai. They have a considerable admixture of Kikuyu blood in them. They inhabit generally the neighbourhood of En Doinyo Narok and their population is estimated at 700, including some 75 Muran. They are said to possess 6,000 head of cattle, 20,000 sheep and 75 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into two "Sirits" named Il Tareto and Seure. Il Dala Lekutuk.

The Kaputiei are to be found in the neighbourhood of the Nyiri Desert. Their population is estimated at 2,600 including 175 Muran, and their possessions at 30,000 head of cattle, 100,000 sheep and 400 donkeys. Their Muran are divided into four "Sirits" whose names are Il Mokesen, Il Mejuali, Il Kidemmi and Il Sogon. Kaputiei.

The Sighirari of Laitokitok inhabit the country to the north of Kilimanjaro, which country is watered by the Engare Rongai, Kikalelwa, Naromuro, Ol ol Turesh and Rombo streams. The population of this division is estimated to number about 2,800 of whom 180 are Muran. These are divided into two "Sirits," named Il Kituli and Il Mejuali. The live-stock possessions are said to number 60,000 head of cattle, 175,000 sheep and 500 donkeys. Sighirari of Laitokitok.

563 In addition to the Masai, there are considerable numbers of Wandorobo ("Il Torobo") living in the Masai Reserve. Their numbers are probably not less than three or four thousand, and many of them possess considerable herds of cattle, and live the life of ordinary Masai, from whom it is difficult to distinguish them. They may be conveniently divided into two classes, namely, those who live in the bush and forest, and those who possess cattle. The former possess little or no live-stock, and subsist almost entirely upon wild animals and honey, while the latter live in villages and subsist only to a very limited extent on game. Wandorobo.

The former are to be found mainly in the neighbourhood of the Mau, but small parties of them are also met on the Uaso Nyiro, on the Lower Mara River, along the Sotik border, and in the Trans-Mara region. They live on tree rabbits and the smaller game animals, in rough shelters in the forests, or in the huts in some of the Masai villages.

The latter are to be found on the Uaso Nyiro, in the neighbourhood of Ol Alunga and Ol Doinyo Rasha, on the western bank of the Mara River, and in the Siria country. In all, they probably number about 1,000.

564 326 There exists in the reserve, a special tribe of smiths, somewhat similar to the Wandorobo, called Il-Kunono, who make iron weapons, but are treated as inferiors, and are not allowed to marry Masai women. Il-Kunono.

181 105 To recapitulate, the Masai are a listless, conservative, slothful people, inadequately governed by Councils of Elders, who admit themselves to be incompetent to deal with the idle body of warriors whose *raison d'etre* has now disappeared, but who are still sufficiently insubordinate to render ineffective the counsels of their seniors. They have been concentrated in one area, where they have amassed enormous herds of cattle of a poor quality, and countless sheep. No suitable means of employment has as yet been found for the males of the tribe as a whole, though they are experts in the care of stock, and once possessed fighting qualities of a savage nature, which spread the terror of their name far and wide. They have considerable latent powers of organization, alertness and ability, but these are largely discounted owing to their unreliability: they have always realized that it is in their best interests to be loyal to the British Government, and have never been responsible for any serious disturbance, being too proud to work, and rich enough to disregard fines, they are probably the most backward administered native tribe in the East Africa Protectorate. Recapitulation.

4: Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

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(4) VITAL STATISTICS AND NATIVE AUTHORITY.

(a) Population.

The latest statistics of population, given in March, 1917, are as follows:—

Location No.	Name of Division.	Population.	Murran.	Cattle.	Sheep.	Donkeys.
1	Shin	1,200	80	12,000	25,000	80
2	Lolta	5,000	700	80,000	225,000	750
	Sidai	600	80	6,000	15,000	100
	L'Otuyok	800	60	7,000	18,000	100
3	Purko	16,800	2,200	375,000	1,000,000	5,200
	Il Damat	900	65	8,000	20,000	100
4	Kabenyukye	3,000	250	30,000	200,000	2,000
5	L'Odo Kilusi	1,500	80	10,000	30,000	150
	Ngurumaa	400	40	1,000	10,000	80
6	Matapato	2,400	160	40,000	175,000	300
7	Sighisari (Engidongi)	1,800	120	28,000	80,000	300
	Il Dalo Lekutuk	700	75	6,000	20,000	75
8	Kaputiei	2,600	175	30,000	100,000	400
9	Sighisari (Loitokitok)	2,800	180	60,000	175,000	500
	Wandorobo	2,500	200	2,000	5,000	25
	TOTAL	42,900.	4,535	718,000	2,096,000	10,200

(b) HEADMEN IN THE MASAI RESERVE.

Location No.	Division.	Headmen.	Date of appointment under the Nat. Auth. Ordce., 1912.	Annual Salary.	Remarks.
1	Siria	Teroni	8/8/13	Rs. 120	Il Merishari.
		Nadalla Ole Ngigilla ..	8/8/14 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Enkenya	7/1/15	Nil	Siria Murua
2	Laita	Senlen	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kashu, Senior ..	18/4/18	Nil	—
		Ole Kashu, Junior ..	—	Nil	Murua.
		Ole Moti	7/1/15	Nil	Laita Murua.
	Sabi	Ol Ol Tegum	—	Nil	Murua.
	L'Otuyuk	Ol Olotuno	16/2/16	Nil	—
3	Purko	Ole Galishu	18/4/18	Rs. 600	Mara area.
		Ole Masikondi	18/4/18	Rs. 600	Narok area.
		Ole Kotikosh	8/8/13	Rs. 240	Lemek.
		Ole Korio	—	Nil	—
		Ole Emboke	18/4/18	Nil	Narosura area.
		Ole Yeli	—	Paid	—
		Ole Malit	—	Nil	—
		Ole Ratiet	—	Nil	—
		Ole Kagoitoi	—	Nil	—
		Ole Peri	7/1/15	Nil	Purko Murua.
		Ole Morijoi	7/1/15	Nil	Il Kisaruni Murua.
		Ole Emboroko	7/1/15	Nil	Il Meriako Murua.
		Ol Opejo	7/1/15	Nil	Il Polyani Murua.
		Ole Tamoo	7/1/15	Nil	L'Aimer Murua.
		Ole Leshuigo	—	Nil	Murua.
		Ole Enjogo	7/1/15	Rs. 240	L'Aimer Murua.
	Il Damat	Ole Kataigo	8/8/13 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	Il Malili area.
		Ole Moripet	7/1/15	Nil	Il Damat Murua.
4	Kabenyukye	Sironga Ole Parsitan ..	18/4/18	—	—
		Raniti	—	Rs. 180	—
		Ole Sataika	7/1/15	Nil	Kabenyukye Murua.
		Ole Supeo	7/1/15	Nil	Il Paragwe Murua.
		Ole Embishi	7/1/15	Nil	Il Kedimasi Murua.
5	L'Odo Kisai ..	Ole Naibesa	8/7/14 & 18/4/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Gogoiyi	26/10/14	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Embarle	—	Nil	—
	Ngurumas	Ole Saningo	—	Nil	Murua.
6	Matapato	Ole Oiti	8/8/13	—	—
		Ole Oloderie	18/4/18	—	—
		Ole Mali	8/8/14	Rs. 120	—
7	Sighirari	Seggi Ole Lenana	18/4/18	Rs. 1,800	Laibon.
	(Engidongi)	Ngaroya	18/4/18	Rs. 720	—
	Il Dala Lakutuk ..	Ole Mooga	8/8/14 & 18/4/18	Nil	—
		Ole Simbanu	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Murua.
8	Kapatiei	Njoroge Ole Kasi	18/4/18	—	—
		Ole Melwa	—	Nil	—
		Ole Moyoyi	8/8/13	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Nasai	26/10/14	Rs. 120	Kapatiei Murua.
9	Sighirari	Metialu Ole Kodalio ..	18/4/18	Paid	—
	(Laitokitok)	Ole Mago	—	Nil	Murua.
	Wandorobo	Ole Nashida	22/11/18	Rs. 120	—
		Ole Sayalel	—	Nil	Murua.

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(c) Appointments under the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913.

Notice.

Notice is hereby given that His Excellency the Acting Governor has been pleased to recognize the Councils presided over by the following Headmen for the purpose of the Native Tribunal Rules, 1913, and to appoint such Councils to be Collective Headmen under the Native Authority Ordinance, 1912.

Name.	No. of location.	Area of Jurisdiction.	District.	Remarks.
Ole Masikondi	No. 3	Narok area of Purko and Dumat Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	These four Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the whole of the Purko and Dumat Tribal Divisions.
Ole Galishu	No. 3	Mara area	Mara, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Ruboko	No. 3	Narosura	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Kotoiya	No. 3	Il Molli	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	
Stronga Ole Punshua	No. 4	Kahuayjkye Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Kaaku, Senr.	No. 2	Loita, L'Atayok and Salai Location	Narok, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Loita, L'Atayok and Salai Tribal Divisions.
Nabulla Ole Ngoldilla	No. 1	Siria Location	Mara, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ole Mango	No. 7	Sikhirari (Engidongi) and Ol Dala Lokutuk Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	To exercise jurisdiction over the Ol Dala Lokutuk Tribal Division only.
Ringoroya	No. 7	Ditto	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	These two Councils may combine to exercise joint jurisdiction over the Sikhirari (Engidongi) Tribal Division.
Saggi Ole Lenana	No. 7	Ditto	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	
Ole Naipenya	No. 5	L'Odo Kilani and Ingurumas Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Njoroge Ole Karei	No. 8	Kaputiei Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Ol Gholasio	No. 6	Matapato Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—
Matiabe Ole Kordillo	No. 9	Sikhirari of L'Aitokitok Location	Ngong, Masai Reserve ..	—

Nairobi,
The 18th day of April, 1918.

W. J. MONSON,
Acting Chief Secretary.

4 Sandford G-4, 5 (1918) 1919 FL12 Masai FL12

5: Maguire G-5 (no date) 1928
FL12 Masai FL12
Kisongo

THE MASAI PENAL CODE

Some Notes on the Recognised Masai Punishments for Crimes, with Examples of Masai Oaths or Ordeals

121 The following notes relate to those punishments of ancient origin still remembered among the Kisongo [1] Masai. Some of the penalties are habitually inflicted up to the present day. Some, as will be obvious from a perusal of the text, have, of necessity, fallen into disuse. They have been written down from the statements of certain Masai Elders of the *'L-aimer* [2] age, and have received the *imprimatur* of the *'L-oibon* Párit. Párit [3] has asked me to say that he cannot be responsible for the authenticity of what follows, though he has no doubt that it is correct, but being a comparatively young man of the *'Sëure* [4] age, he has not the knowledge of these things that the Elders have.

114 115 [561]

121 The notes are brief and unscientific, and were made, primarily, with the object of adding to our knowledge of Masai custom in the matter of criminal offences in view of the recent formation of Native Courts throughout Tanganyika Territory.

'L-oikop: Murder

687 (*a*) If one Masai kills another, all the cattle of the murderer are taken by the relatives of the deceased. A council is then

[634] [1] Kisongo is the Masai name for the southern Masai areas. It includes almost the entire Tanganyika Masai District as constituted to-day. The principal Masai "Districts" included under the name Kisongo are (for the purposes of this article) Moipo and Kitëto.

[2] Circumcision of 1874, approximately, according to Hollis.

[3] Párit is a brother of Séke and Kimórua, of Kenya. They are all three of the clan of the medicine-men or *'L-oibonok*. Ol-Ōnana (*Lenana*) was Párit's father, and Párit is Séke's brother by a different mother. Párit came down to Tanganyika in 1923 by his own desire, and at the request of the Tanganyika Masai. He has lived here ever since in the vicinity of Taro-sero. (GBE; Kilimanjaro; E; 7 & 8).

[4] Circumcision of 1896, approximately, according to Hollis. I think the date of the ceremony was somewhat later among the Masai of Tanganyika.

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

614 breed than others. The most aristocratic of these clans are
565 the Ngajè-Masai, Molilian, Lyserè, and Leteyo. These have the finest physical development, and are undoubtedly superior
142 to the others in the shape of the head, the less depressed nose, and thinner lips. Indeed,—but for the prominence of the cheek-bones, a tendency to a Mongolian shape and upward slant of the eyes, the chocolate-coloured skin, and the hair with a tendency to become frizzy—they might pass muster as very respectable and commonplace Europeans. The Ngajè-Masai are the purest breed, and are to be found chiefly around Kilimanjaro. The most degraded tribe physically is that which is known to the coast traders by the name of Wa-kwafi. They seem to have acquired a strain of negro blood, as will be perceived by an examination of the photograph of the Masai of Lykipia (p. 205).[1] The higher development of the Ngajè-Masai is seen in the photo of an aristocratic woman of Njiri.

• 634 The country is divided into about ten principal districts, such as Sigirari, Njiri, Matumbato, Kaptè, Dogilani, Lykipia, Guas' Ngishu, &c. The various members of the race are
[614] generally designated by their native district. Various clans may be found occupying the same district, but they usually keep in distinct kraals. Hence they speak of the "El-Masai Matumbato," or El-Masai Kaptè. Each district also is fur-
[714] ther distinguished by having special heraldic devices on the
[531] shields of the warriors, painted with wonderful skill and taste in black, white, red, or yellow colours. Between the
619 various sections of the tribe there is not the slightest cohesion.
628 Wars among themselves are of constant occurrence, though when a state of war is not declared, they are on the most friendly terms,—their feuds not being of that deep-seated character which distinguishes those of semi-civilized lands.

174 Of these internal wars none have been so disastrous or so
628 oft-repeated as that between the main mass of the Masai and the Wa-kwafi (I here use the name for convenience). The original home of the latter was the large district lying between Kilimanjaro, Ugono, and Parè on the west, and Teita and U-sambara on the east. This large region is known to the Masai as Mbaravui. Some fifty years ago the Wakwafi were numerous and strong, able to hold their own against all comers. About 1830—as far as I can gather—a series of misfortunes fell upon them. In a great war-raid against the Wa-gogo to the south they suffered a severe repulse, and great numbers were slaughtered. The same

[1] [not processed.-Analyst]

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

as the Masai race shall exist," and to refrain from leasing or granting any land (except such land as may be required for mining or for any public purpose) " without the sanction of the paramount chief and the representatives of the Masai tribe."

As a people of Nilo-Hamitic origin, the Masai have an affinity to the Nandi, Kipsigis, Suk and Turkana of the Keyna Colony, but they have maintained more of their original custom and mode of life than the Nandi or the Kipsigis. A variety of circumstances have combined to produce this result, but it is undoubtedly due in large measure to the fact that the extent and quality of the lands occupied by them has allowed them, as a tribe, to escape the disturbance in their traditional life caused by the necessity of wage earning on the European farms and urban centres or of taking to agriculture. It is noteworthy that though parties of the Masai have on various occasions lent assistance to the Kenya Government in military or police operations against other tribes, they have never enlisted in any numbers in the armed forces maintained in the Colony, and they actively resisted the efforts made to secure their recruitment during the War of 1914-1918.

The social structure of the Masai has from the outset created an obstacle to the adoption of any system of native administration similar to that in force in other parts of the Colony. The military organization of the tribe was in earlier days maintained by a system which divided the male population into boys (L'Ayok), warriors (Moran) and elders. The first stage continued till circumcision, performed any time between thirteen and seventeen years of age. Those who were circumcised within a certain period, normally four years, formed an Age Group, and those circumcised during the succeeding period formed a second Age Group, these Groups being distinguished as the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups respectively. The circumcised youths became the warrior class, who were divided into Companies (sirit) living in separate villages (manyatta) often of a considerable size, and the larger manyattas had their own " Counsellors " (L'Aiganak) chosen from among the Moran.

The Moran had special privileges, such as that of cohabitation with unmarried girls, and were relieved of all tribal obligation save fighting and raiding. Even such forms of manual labour as were involved in a pastoral life were avoided by them. They remained on the fighting strength of the tribe or periods which originally varied from seven to twelve years, and then, after the celebration of the E-unoto ceremony, " drank milk " and passed into the stage of Elders. But, as Sir Charles Eliot observed in 1905, "the Elders' ideal of existence seemed to be ease, not unmixed with drunkenness."[1] Those who attained a position of wealth and importance might be elected as Chiefs, but the functions of a Chief were restricted to leadership in raiding or warfare.

There is another feature of importance in the social structure. The Masai are divided into Sections (Alosho) which probably had their origin as clan or kinship groups, but have no close correspondence with geographical divisions. There are 14 recognized Sections, of which the Purko is by far the largest and most wealthy. Each of these Sections has its own Age Grades, so that the period at which youths become Moran, or Moran became Elders at the E-unoto ceremony, do not coincide in the different Sections. Each Section used to have an informal Council of the Elders, but these had little direct control of affairs, particularly where the activities of the Moran were concerned, and the situation

[1] Introduction to The Masai, by A. C. Hollis, 1905. For the significance of the E-Unoto ceremony see page 69 of the Administrative and Political History of the Masai quoted above.

7: Hailey G-4 (No date) 1950 FL12 Masai FL12

634 [623] was further complicated by the fact that at stated intervals, normally about 15 years, power passed from the hands of the representatives of one Age Group in each Section into those of the succeeding Age Group, there being thus an alternation of authority in each Section between the Right Hand and Left Hand Groups.

642 To quote Sir Charles Eliot again, the consequence of the traditional structure of Masai society was that "the centre of political gravity was not with the elders or chiefs, but with a republic of young men, governed by ideas of military comradeship. The chiefs arranged the details of any raids which [622] the young men wished to undertake, but their power of compelling them to do anything which they did not wish was very slight." The nearest approach 691 to a central and superior authority was to be found in the Chief Medicine-Man 642 (Laibon), though his authority was based mainly on the discharge of his magical functions.[1] The medicine-men were divided into three grades, of which the first grade was represented by the person of the Laibon, the Chief Medicine-Man of the tribe, and his guidance was held to be of the first importance in any major operation which the tribe might undertake.

THE INTRODUCTION OF THE NATIVE AUTHORITY SYSTEM

175 648 It is unnecessary to dwell here on the circumstances which for a prolonged period made the Masai a standing menace to the peace of their neighbours. The tribe seems to have reached the height of its power between 1800 and 1850, when it overran Kenya and part of Tanganyika.[2] There were subsequently severe internal dissensions among the Masai, which resulted in two of their five "divisions" being practically destroyed and there was also great mortality as a result of the outbreak of rinderpest and smallpox in the 'eighties of last century. But even though their strength was much reduced, their predatory habits continued to be a matter of grave concern in the early days of the Colony, and seemed in particular to threaten the progress of European settlement. Among the Masai themselves strong feelings were aroused by the measures, taken largely in the interest of European settlers, designed to counteract the propensity of the tribesmen to roam widely in search of fresh grazing grounds, as the result of which they were restricted to a Northern Reserve (Laikipia) and a Southern Reserve, separated from the Northern Reserve by a broad belt of country occupied by European farms. That was the position at the time of the Masai Agreement of 1904, but it subsequently became the policy of the Kenya Government to move the tribesmen in the Northern Reserve into the Southern Reserve, which was to be largely augmented in area for this purpose.[3]

175 648 791 In view of the terms of the Agreement of 1904, the assent of the Masai was required for this transfer, and the operation was one of obvious difficulty. In the circumstances it was not unnatural that the Government should have availed itself of the influence exercised by the Chief Medicine-Man, the Laibon Lenana. He had inherited from his father, Mbatian, who died in 1890, a position which commanded general respect, and he himself took a leading position on behalf of the tribe in the discussions which led up to the Agreement of 1904, which he signed as "Chief Laibon." He was subsequently recognized

[1] The word laibon appears to be a Europeanized form of the Masai word Ol'oiboni (A. C. Hollis, The Nandi, 1909, page 49.

[2] Land Commission Report Vol. II para. 203.

[3] The Laikipia Reserve, contained 4,500 square miles. An addition of 6,500 square miles was to be made to the Southern Reserve.

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

There are certain units, which may be termed *sub-tribes*, whom the "pure" Masai regard as inferior. By "pure" Masai is meant those who regard themselves as descendants of Maasinda. It is of interest that the word ol *Maasinda* is frequently used in place of ol *Masani* as the singular of il *Masai*. Such socially inferior sub-tribes are the Laikipiak, Siria, Uasingishu, and Kwavi, with the Laitayok as possibly a sub-tribe absorbed by the "pure" Masai. The nineteenth century witnessed the ascendancy of the Masai over the "inferior" sub-tribes, whilst in the fifty years which have elapsed since the Great Famine the rivalries of the sections within the Masai themselves have brought about many changes.

By *section* is meant a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of their waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol *osho*, pl. il *oshon*. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers.

The list of sections in Hollis, divided into districts and sub-districts, is too exhaustive to be of practical value, and for this reason the "Administrative History of the Masai" is taken as a basis for the following list. Those sections which live entirely in Kenya are :—Siria (a sub-tribe?), il Damat, il Kakonyuke (see Age Grades), L'Odo Kilani, Nguruman (Lumbwa living north of Lake Natron), il Dala Lekutuk and Kaputiei.

Of more immediate interest in Tanganyika is the Sighirari, apparently a section composed entirely of members of the Engidong clan. The Administrative History refers to Sighirari of Ngong and of Laitokitok. The area between Kilimanjaro and Meru is also known as Sighirari, and is probably the original home of this section. When their lands were alienated by the Germans they returned to Kenya.

The Matapatu are another purely Kenya section of interest to Tanganyika, since it appears that their original grazing grounds included Longido, Kiserian, Engare Naibor, and the numerous small waters to the north thereof. First turned out by the Germans, they again penetrated south at the end of the War, and were again removed by the British, their country being occupied by the Kissongo.

Finally the Laitokitok are of particular interest to us, in that they are closely associated with the Kissongo, and acknowledge the Mondul laibon. This section appears to be composed of Laiser, Laitayok and Molelian clansmen; here as in other areas the Laitayok do not fuse with the other clans, but have independent manyattas, perform separate fertility ceremonies, etc.

A number of sections are divided by the inter-territorial boundary. Of these the Purku alone have no pre-European claim to inhabit Tanganyika. On their eviction from the Naivasha area a portion of this section moved to the area in the Kenya reserve immediately north of Loliondo. By the end of the War they had penetrated as far south as Ngorongoro, whence they were evicted in 1920. All did not, however, return to Kenya; a number settled in the then unadministered area round Loliondo, where

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

634 they were found in 1928 by the Sonjo Patrol, and allowed to stay on in terms of the agreement made with the "Kenya Masai."

The other two sections included in the terms of this agreement, the Loita and Laitayok, were not in fact Kenya Masai at all. For a division of the Loita, called il Ndasagera, had inhabited the highland area round Loliondo, as far south as Lemunyani, since the Masai took possession of the country. The history of this section is bound up with that of Sendeyo, and is recorded below.

Likewise a division of the Laitayok possessed ancestral grazing grounds to the west of the area inhabited by the Loita, which, like those of the latter, were bisected by the inter-territorial boundary.

There are numerous other Masai found in many sections who call themselves Laitayok, and it is difficult to decide whether the name applies
174 to a clan or to a section. From the recorded legend (see Early History)
565 it would appear that they were not amongst the Masai who took part in
634 the exodus, and even to-day a certain stigma attaches to them. When inhabiting the country of another section they usually dwell apart, as for example, amongst the Laitokitok or at Engasumet; Ngongongare on south-east Meru mountain is also regarded as a traditional Laitayok area. Frequently the name il Mingana is used to distinguish the Laitayok from the "pure" Masai.

The probable explanation of their status is that they do in fact belong to a lower stratum; in some areas they have been absorbed by the section amongst whom they resided, and thus eventually came to be regarded as a clan; in other areas they were sufficiently numerous to enable them to
634 retain their own grazing grounds, and to justify their holding tribal ceremonies of their own. An example of the latter is the Loliondo group, who are rightly regarded as forming a separate section; or again the il Dala Lekutuk is reputed to be a section composed entirely of Laitayok.

Another section divided by the border is the Salei or Saleh who now inhabit the area immediately west of the Rift, from the Loita to the Ngorongoro Highlands. They are reputed to have been in the past an important and numerous section, with the true Salei living on the Sanjan Plain (known to the Masai as Salei, the Sanjan is a river) and various sub-sections; the il Merik at ol Donyo Giol, il Bokai on the Ongpuku loi Datwa, and il Ngorongoro in the place which their name signifies. Apparently they, together with the Serenget, acknowledged Mako, brother of Mbatian, as Laibon. They are recorded in the "Administrative History" as following Sendeyo; their present nominal allegiance to Mondul is probably due to the conscious efforts of the administration to bring all the Loliondo Masai into the Kisongo fold.

The Serenget, as their name implies, live on the plains to the west of Ngorongoro, from Lake Eyasi to Engare Nanyuki. They were dispersed by famine and Loita invasion between 1890 and 1900, and only reassembled during the post-war period. The strength of their allegiance to Mondul is also very doubtful.

The Engaruka are a section who perhaps took their name from having maintained themselves through the famine of 1890 by cultivation at

9:Foxbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

Engaruka in the Rift valley. The main body of the section uses the Engaruka stream in the dry season, but Kaviajiro above the Rift Wall should also be included in their area, as forming their reserve of highland grazing. Many of the section are found on the Sanjan and Lemuiyani, having, it is reported, originally been sent there for veterinary reasons.

The majority of the Masai of Tanganyika regard themselves as Kisongo, but Kisongo is a very difficult term to define, for it is neither a sub-tribe, nor yet, strictly speaking, a section. The nearest definition is probably "that group of sections which follows the Mondul laibon". But there are numerous border line cases, such as those sections defined above whose allegiance to Morgul is doubtful. The Kisongo proper divide themselves into two groups, the Kiteto and the Moiko. Each of these groups may be regarded as a section, since they exhibit a certain jealousy one to the other, as was shown by a dispute as to whether Lengijabe should belong to Naberera (Moiko) or to Makuni (Kiteto); such feeling is not shown between, say, the Longido and Mondul people.

The Kiteto section comprises those who inhabit Kiteto, Talamai, Kibaya, Makuni and Simanjiro. Those Masai now resident in the Central Province, (*for the most part with the inception of the Groundnut Scheme they have been returned to Masailand—Ed.*) also belong to this section and take part with their brethren on this side of the border in those tribal matters concerning which the Kiteto section functions as a unit.

The Moiko section is an unwieldy unit now in the process of sub-division. It takes its name from the Rovu (Pangani) river, where the section claims to have originated. When for various reasons the Mondul, Longido and Ngorongoro areas became practically vacant, the Moiko proceeded to occupy them, frequently intermingling with the remnants of the original inhabitants. That new sections are in the process of formation amongst the Moiko and the remnants they have absorbed is shown by the organisation of the Kisale age, (*see Age Grade section*). Longido, Naberera or Mondul may soon be as jealous of their individuality as are the Laitokitok, Salei and Engaruka.

That a section is in the first place a fortuitous grouping of individuals may be shown by an analysis of the Longido and Engare Nairor areas, which were made free for settlement by the eviction of the Matapato.

Sectional origins of the Population of Longido and Engare Nairor.

Moiko	134	Sighirari ...	13
Mwesandet	47	Kiteto	9
Longuswa	42	Engaruka ...	7
Ngongongare	29	Laitz	6
Damat	23	Sundry	27

The Mwesandet are the remnants of a scattered section who originally inhabited Musa, Mwesandet and Kisimere, areas now included in the Arusha District. Longuswa is a name for the area round the Engare ol Motonyi furrow. Those who came from Ngongongare are the remains of the Laitayuk who lost their land to alienation. The remaining names on the table have already been defined.

The members of this heterogeneous group are, insofar as the more

9:Fosbrooke G-5 (1936-1948) 1948 FL12 Masai FL12
Kisonko

634 junior ages are concerned, beginning to regard themselves as a unit. Ngorongoro is another area where similar conditions pertain.

C. **Recent History: Famine — civil war — German Policy.**

175 Again taking up the thread of history, the period 1850 to 1890 is regarded by the Masai as one of prosperity. Mbatian was the laibon at this time; it was he who called up the Moibo Masai to fight the Uasingishu and Laikipiak sub-tribes. But the period was mainly occupied with wars and raids against neighbouring tribes; the devastating effects of such raids, as noted by early explorers, are graphically illustrated by extracts from their writings reproduced in the "Administrative History".

175 But about 1890 the Masai were visited by the triple misfortune of famine, smallpox and rinderpest. Whole families, together with their 734 stock, were wiped out. In some cases the survivors lived by hunting or agriculture; in others they were adopted into, or carried off into captivity by, neighbouring tribes. The tribe was in fact scattered from Lake Victoria to the Coast. But such was the urge to the nomadic pastoral life that, in the course of the next few years, most of the wanderers returned, and from their earnings or stealings commenced to build up new herds.

175 During the famine Mbatian died, and the tribe was divided by civil 669 war. For two of Mbatian's sons, Lenana and Sendeyo, were rivals for the position of laibon. The former had a following of Purku and other sections, the latter was backed up by the Loita. After various skirmishes round Nairobi, Sendeyo turned south, and his Loita beat in turn the Laitayok, Salei and Serenget of the Loliondo area, thus finishing up at Ngorongoro. From there they descended to Kisongo, some of the Loita spreading to Longido and Olmusing. At one time Sendeyo himself lived at Losogonoi, but later returned to Ngorongoro. When below the Rift he had numerous skirmishes with the Germans, and also with the Kisongo, supported by the Purku. His final defeat was brought about by a clever flanking movement; the Kisongo, by this time recovering from the effects of the famine, approached Lenana, who agreed to send his Purku from the north, via Loliondo, whilst the Kisongo attacked from the east. Thus both parties would converge on Sendeyo at Ngorongoro. When Sendeyo heard of this, he saw that the struggle was hopeless and fled by night to Lenana to admit defeat. Lenana allowed him to return as laibon to the Loita section.

175 An important feature of recent history is the policy which the German 648 Government pursued in relation to the Masai. When they first made contact with the tribe, the Masai of Tanganyika, being scattered by the famine, must have been very few in number. The area south of the Moshi—Arusha—Mbugwe road was therefore thought sufficient as a Masai Reserve, and the objective was to keep Mondul, Longido, Ngorongoro and Loliondo areas free for alienation. This meant that the Laitayok and Ndaragwa Loita of Loliondo, the Salei and Serenget west of the Rift, the Mwesandet of north Meru and Mondul, the Sighirari of Sanya and the Matapatu of Longido, were all debarred from their grazing grounds. During the war, when this policy was relaxed, the various sections began to

11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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place until the two senior groups move out together into the elders' class. The result of this arrangement is that no group which enters the warrior class as *muratagediongo* ever stays in the warrior class for as long as any *jungiendow* group.

Manyattas.—During their time of service in the warrior class the members of each age-group live in special villages built away from the main married men's villages. These villages are territorial, in that all the warriors of a single age-group in a single area live in one such village. Warriors of different age-groups never live in a single *manyatta*, as each *manyatta* is essentially the headquarters of the members of a single age-group in the warrior class in a given area. *Manyattas* are moved about from place to place when fresh grazing is necessary.

A *manyatta* consists of a number of huts each one of which is built, and lived in, by the mother (or another married woman relative) of one of the warriors of that *manyatta*. Normally each warrior has his own mother living in the *manyatta* and she is accompanied by her children, especially by some of the man's uninitiated sisters and half-sisters. The elder women are there to do the work of the *manyatta*, such as milking, fuel gathering, water drawing, etc., and in this they are assisted to a certain extent by the girls, but the latter are chiefly in the *manyattas* as companions and lovers for the warriors. No girl can live at a *manyatta* at all unless her brother or half-brother is a member of that *manyatta*, and each warrior living at a *manyatta* is expected to bring two or three of his sisters or half-sisters to live at the *manyatta*, and if possible some of these should be fairly grown up and others quite children who will grow up at the *manyatta*.

Sex Life.—During the warrior stage no man may have sexual intercourse with any initiated girl or with married women, but on the other hand, there exists in the *manyattas* a system of sex life which is decidedly interesting. The warriors, whenever they feel like it (which, as my informant pointed out, is "very, very often"), invite one of the girls (sisters of the other men in the *Manyatta*) to sleep with them. This is done by a method and formula which corresponds in some ways to the *umbani* of the Kikuyu peoples, but has certain marked differences.

A group of warriors at any time of the day will stand outside the village and call to any of the girls whom they see about, and when they come they say to them *tasiukiu*, and the girls then each select one of the men, and say "I choose so-and-so," not mentioning the man by his own name but as "the son of so-and-so." By so doing the girl binds herself to go and sleep with the man so chosen that night. It is a point of honour and etiquette that no girl so called upon to choose a man may refuse to do so unless she is (*a*) actually at a menstruation period at the time, or (*b*) has already promised herself to another man for that night, but she may make her choice from any of those men who were in the group that called to her.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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561 634 624 *Sirit.* The age-group of each section forms one or more *sirit* or companies. Each *sirit* has its *Aigwenan*, who performs some of the duties of a captain. The word literally means counsellor. One of the captains is considered to have authority over all the age-group as well as his own *sirit*, and he is called *'L-Aigwenan l'ol poror* in contrast to the others who are *'L-aigwenak loo sirit*.

As an example of the *sirit* divisions, the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko has three *sirits*—Il-Meshuke, 'L-Aitetti and Il-Kanyara.

When the warriors become elders the *Aigwenak* usually retain their authority.

(a) Generation-names common to all the Masai:—

Il Nyangusi. Very few survivors now.
Il Aimer.
Il Taiala.
Il Twati. The present ruling elders and *Ol piron* to the present warriors.
Il Tuvrio (?). This is believed to be the new name given to the groups who have most recently become elders. It had not come into general use in Narok District when I left last May. I therefore give below the various age-group names of the warriors of this generation:—

(b):—

Section.	Purko.	Loita and Siria.	Kakonyuko.	Il Damat.
Il Tuvrio, Right hand	Il Meruturut.	Il Kishangop.	Il Meshuke.	Il Meruturut.
Il Tuvrio, Left hand	Il Kitoip.	None.	I Rayani.	Il Kitoip.
Il Tuvrio, Right hand	Il Sukuuk.	I Rimirim.	?	?

Section.	Kaputei, Loshpilani, Matapato.	Il Dalalegutuk.	Loitokitok.	Kisonyo.
Il Tuvrio, Right hand	Il Aitetti.	?	Il Kilumi	?
Il Tuvrio, Left hand	None.	?	None.	Il Kesimbot.
Il Tuvrio, Right hand	?	?	?	?

Some of the names are omitted because they have not yet been given, and others, e.g. the Il Dalalegutuk, because I have not had anything to do with that section for some years.

An *Aigwenan* appears to be chosen in the first instance by the elders, but if he proves unsatisfactory the warriors sometimes exert themselves successfully to get him changed.

561 *Ol Piron.*—The elders of the generation next but one senior to another generation are said to be the *Ol Piron* of that generation. Thus the *'L Aimer* are *Ol Piron* of the Il Twati and the Il Twati are *Ol Piron* of the present warriors, *e.g.* Il Sukuuk.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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428 a small legacy of a few cattle to anyone he likes, but the bulk of his property must be inherited according to the above rules.

422 562 *Women's Property.*—As a general rule a woman cannot own cattle herself, but holds them in trust for her husband. I have twice come across exceptions to this :—

(*a*) A woman who had plied the profession of a doctor (*i.e.* native herbalist) and had received cattle in payment.

(*b*) A woman who had amassed wealth outside and independently of the tribe.

Household utensils such as gourds, hides, and donkey saddles belong to the woman of the house.

175 791 *Laibons* (Masai, *'L-Oibonok*).—Hollis, pp. 324–330, gives the history of the *Laibons* up to the beginning of the present century. I will therefore briefly summarize their more recent history.

648 ●634 Lenana was made paramount chief of the Masai in Kenya Colony by the Government. He died in 1911. Some people thought that his brother Sendeyo had bewitched him, but little credence need be attached to this opinion. He appointed his small son Seggi to succeed him. As Seggi was a minor, Ngaroya, son of Neilian, first cousin to Lenana, was appointed as regent. Between the years 1912 and 1923 it was the Kenya Government's policy to curtail the powers of the *Laibons*. Seggi grew up a weak and lovable person, who has little authority, and is more often drunk than sober. At one time he was deposed from paramount chieftainship for persistent inebriety, but was subsequently re-appointed to be paramount chief of the Kajiado District only.

His brother, Kimuruai, is *Laibon* of the Purko section. He is a weak character, but vainglorious and boastful. He is very untrustworthy owing to his desire to seem more important than his character warrants him to be.

Ngaroya is now a very old man. He is *Laibon* of the Kakonyuki section. Sendeyo is *Laibon* of the Loita section. He was deported to Meru in 1923, it having been alleged that he was implicated in the rising of the Il Kitoip age-group of the Purko at the end of 1922. He was allowed to return to Loita in 1926 and still lives there, much loved and respected.

Whereas in Kenya the power of the *Laibons* has been much reduced since Lenana's death, and councils of elders have been created to try and take their place in the government of the tribe, in Tanganyika Territory the authority of the *Laibon* has been upheld and he is regarded as the paramount chief. I believe that the system has worked well. Until recently their *Laibon* was Parit, a son of Lenana. Parit is now dead, and a minor, whose name escapes me, has succeeded him.

In Pl. XIII, *Fig.* 4, is seen a photograph of Seggi holding in his hand the bronze club of his grandfather, Mbatian, and the iron club of his father, Lenana (*see* Hollis, pp. 329 and 330). Mbatian's bronze club is at present in my possession, but should be returned to one of his descendants at some future date.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
Kenya

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FIG. 1.

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FIG. 2.

FIG. 4.

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FIG. 3.

FIG. 1.—*Lolia E-Unolo.* WARRIORS DANCING IN THE MANYATTA. HUTS IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 2.—*Lolia E-Unolo.* WARRIORS DANCING.
FIG. 3.—*Lolia E-Unolo.* OL-OTUPO, OL-ONDE ENGÍNE AND 'L-ASOWENAN (LEFT TO RIGHT), WITH O-ONGURA HUT IN BACKGROUND.
FIG. 4.—ORGOI WITH THE METAL CLUBS OF HIS FATHER AND GRANDFATHER.

M 174 184 619 [101] [361]

/8 cont./ the name El muli. Those who became sedentary, however, are designated by the Masai as El lumbua and also as El kuafi -- probably because they constitute the main part of the old El kuafi. The caravan people, accordingly, call them Wakuafi, while they make no distinction between El muli and Masai and even impose on the former the name of the latter.

M [144]

In contrast to the El muli, who have remained pure, the El lumbua of all the settlements are more or less strongly mixed. In places the degree of mixture is so great that at first glance one scarcely recognizes the somatic features characteristic of the Masai people: in places, however, it is also still so slight that any mixture at all can only be determined by thorough investigation.

D 174 M 174 184

A last group, finally, became hunters, the El asiti. This is the second branch of the Wanderóbo: the third and most recent, the El gasurek, arose from the Masai themselves, in that those impoverished by livestock epidemics were forced to a new means of subsistence.

M • 634 635 [648]

Even up to 17 years ago the Masai were the lords of the vast steppes in German and British East Africa, when the European occupation brought about a change. The entire land inhabited by them is divided into three provinces. The Kisoñgo Province embraces those steppe regions that lie south of the line, extending east-west, connecting the peaks of Kilimandscharo and Meru. North of this lies the province of Loita, and still farther north, embracing the region of Lake Naiwascha, the province of Ol bruggo. In earlier times a part of Loita called Es sereñget seems /9/ to have temporarily formed a province by itself. Each province (ol oscho 'bo = a province) is divided into districts (eñ gob = the land), and these again into areas. Most of their names are proper names that can not be translated; others are chosen from local peculiarities, for example, springs, brooks, hills, mountains, trees, etc. The inhabitants often name themselves after the individual provinces or districts and then speak of Kisoñgo-Masai, Loita-Masai, Sereñgeti- or even Kiteto-, Moibo-, Sogonoi-Masai, etc. Earlier travelers often mistakenly took this designation for tribal names. Similarly, the word ol oikob has been misinterpreted,

M [101]

M 192 101

1, [The reference is to the last group of the original Kwafi--Analyst]

/60 cont./

881 [791] The circumcision of boys is a public affair and is ordered by the ol oiboni. With the issuing of his order, the circumcision years ('l arí omoratyeki 'l aijok) begin, that is, the following four to five /61/ years during which the boys may be circumcised. In all [634] the districts the old men now hold consultations and set a definite day (1)

[613] 1. The circumcision of the boys belonging to the lineage of the El kiborōn always takes place on the 20th day of the Masai month.

for the circumcision of the first division of the boys in question. Similarly, later, in the following years, the circumcision days, usually only one in each year, will be determined for the following divisions of boys. It should be mentioned here, beforehand that all boys circumcised during a series of circumcision years form an age class (ol [561] [791] borōr) and that this age class is given a definite name by the ol oiboni. The circumcision period is ended by the ol oiboni ordering the en gebāta. This is a festival which is celebrated by the first boys in

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Ill. 17. Masai boys. C.G. Schillings phot.

/72 cont./

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C. G. Schillings, phot.

Ill. 25. Warriors.

561 It is to be inserted here that the girls who have been circumcised in the period from the beginning of a series of circumcision years to the beginning of the next series are counted in the age class in which the boys circumcised within the same period up to the en gebāta festival are reckoned.

/73/ As long as the members of an age class still belong to the warrior standing, those living in each area have their own head, the speaker (ol aigwenani), whom we shall meet again in the warrior kraal. But if those belonging to one ol borōr are all married, they are given a head for the entire district, the ol aunoni, whom not only the people of his age class, but also those of all younger age classes are obliged to obey. It is the business of the ol oiboni to arrange matters so that in each district only one holds this rank. The discussions with regard to his appointment begin even before all the ol borōr members have left the warrior standing. The speakers of the district go to the ol oiboni and put their request before him.

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561 /73 cont./
634 After he has counted off the little stones of his oracle game for a
[791] while, he decides that N., the son of M., is to become ol aunoni.
[787] This session is secret, and the speakers also have a duty to keep its result secret for the time being. A man can only become ol
[554] aunoni who is distinguished by physical beauty, faultless build, strength, and health. After the speakers have returned home again to their area, they call together all the ol borõr members there and, with these, again set out for the ol oiboni. Then a very large hut (os siñgira otunigi) is built there. When it is finished, the speakers take a number of warriors into their confidence and tell them who has been named ol aunoni. Then all gather in the hut, in the center of which stands a new, neatly carved wooden stool, toward which the one named is inconspicuously pushed by those who know. As soon
[301] as this has been accomplished, a few of those standing around him
[291] push him down onto the stool, others place a string of blue ring-beads (ñ gonoñgo) around his neck, tie the spiral ear ornament made of copper wire (e surudia), such as is worn by old men and women, into his ear lobes, remove his short, skin-apron (e megiti) of the warrior, and in its place drape around him the long one of the married (the ol gela 1 ol moruak). Finally all those present cheer the new ol aunoni and cry out tadarawá jo ijõk eñ gischon, that is, remain poor, bring us luck. The Masai in general maintain that every ol aunoni
[556] has remained poor: if he were to put livestock in his kraal, he would soon die, his wives would bear him few children, wealth would remain
[431] denied him. But he does not need it, for every man under him is obliged to give to the ol aunoni visiting him a fat ox and milk. Hence he is constantly on visiting trips, which explains why he has neither a large stock of cattle nor numerous progeny. In his kraal the lord who keeps the women at work is missing, and the latter in turn indeed have no incentive to work, for, by means of the gifts that fall to their husband, an excess of foodstuffs always prevails.

[574] After the ol aunoni festival is over, the other ol borõr members
[721] wander back home and celebrate a long meat feast (ol bul), whereupon they /74/ usually set out on a war expedition, while the ol aunoni himself goes back to his kraal and remains there.

/74 cont./

561 634 578 The principal activity of the ol aunoni consists in keeping the people of his district together and protecting them from splitting up, which could be more or less disastrous for the Masai. Occasion for this is furnished by both the constant petty jealousies and friction between the warriors of the various areas, who, for example, not infrequently plan two war expeditions at the same time, instead of concentrating on one, and the short-sighted selfishness of many old men, who are inclined, in the selection of new pasturing places, to think only of the quality of the pasture, instead of also considering whether the warriors are in a position to protect the desired place from hostile attacks. An enemy's success affects not only the one who loses all his property in connection with it, but is a disgrace for the [681] whole people. In such cases the ol aunoni asserts his authority. To one who does not obey him, the authority of the ol aunoni is, as a rule, made clear by the others by means of a beating. Besides this 561 634 activity, the ol aunoni, if necessary, acts as an intermediary between [791] the people of his district and the ol oiboni, and sometimes his de- [692] cision is requested in legal disputes, but since in this case he is guided very little by legal principles, but rather by political shrewdness, one cannot actually designate him as a judicial presence. The conjecture that the ol aunoni might have something to say in matters pertaining to the cult or might make magic amulets is obvious, but does not prove to be true.

561 791 We have seen above that every two age classes form an association. If the members of this association have all been married a long time, the ol oiboni binds them even closer in that he bestows upon the two age classes, each of which -- which is to be said beforehand -- has its own name, a common name. This takes place at 561 the ol ñeher festival. For this all the men of the association gather 791 near the ol oiboni and build a large kraal in the vicinity of his village. 527 Everyone brings honey for beermaking or a head of cattle for the food. The latter is then killed by suffocation, as at the eñ gebăta festival. The festival consists of the consumption of these things, whose climax is formed by the declaration of the ol oiboni that those assembled henceforth belong to one association (ol adji), which only now actually exists and are to bear a common association-name.

/79 cont./

714 531 which only the brave are entitled to wear, the os serata l el kigeloni. A shield emblem is complete if, in addition to the ornamental band, it also contains the red warrior-emblem.

The ornamental band is the stripe painted in the longitudinal diameter of the shield. Actually es segira is the name of the cowrie shells that, sewed on leather strips, adorn the gourd bottles. The similarity of such an ornamental band with the longitudinal stripe on the surface of the shield explains the Masai word used for this and my translation as ornamental band. The drawing of the ornamental band is unimportant and is often subject to the taste of the moment. Considerable differences exist both between the provinces and within the individual ones.

714 531 634 184 The most important emblem on the shield of the warriors is the red warrior-emblem. Three forms of it are distinguished: the double wedge (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 4, 6, 9, 13, 14, 15, 17) along the ornamental band belongs to Kisoñgo Province, the segments of circles (Plate 1: Figs. 5, 7, 10, 18) on the ornamental band are the emblem for Loita Province, and the peripheral emblem (Plate 1: Figs. 11, 12, 16) shows that the bearer of such a shield belongs to Ol bruggo Province. The warrior emblem is either on both halves of the shield or only on one: the former is the rule in Ol bruggo and Loita, the latter /80/ in Kisongo. Loita and Kisongo, however, show more exceptions. If the red emblem is painted on both halves of the shield, the one half shows the mirror image of the other, so that a symmetrical double emblem results, the center line of which is formed by the ornamental band. According to my explorations, this seems to have been the fashion especially after booty-rich war expeditions: On the other hand, where the red emblem is found on only one side, the other half of the shield shows one or two large, black, bow-shaped emblems

714 531 634 184 174 791 (Plate 1: Figs. 2, 3, 5, 13, 15, 17, 18). These are commonly found in Kisoñgo, where they have been customary for as long as the memory of the people extends. They are rarer in Loita /Ill. 29 appears here/ and, to be sure, really only since the death of Mbatyan. Mbatyan resides in Kisongo, and his bodyguard consisted of Kisongo warriors. After his death Zendeo put together a guard made up of Loita warriors and also stayed largely in Loita in order to avoid the

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Bruner phot.

Ill. 29. Shield escutcheons of the Masai.

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influence of the Moschi military station better. The answer to the question concerning the meaning of the black bows was almost always merely that they probably served as ornamentation, since, with the application of the warrior emblem on the one side, the other half of the shield would look unattractively empty, and only a few old men opined that it was originally a lineage emblem of the En gidoñ. This conception seems to me the right one, and it would explain why the emblem /81/ has been commonly used in Kisongo from time immemorial and then also came to Loita after Mbatyan's death.

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The lineage emblem is almost never found on the shields of today; thus I did not come across it until I had drawn by a number of old men the shield escutcheons carried by them in their youth. The illustrations of Plate 2 show a collection of lineage emblems. We see there that the emblem is sometimes applied on the front of the shield surface, sometimes on the back of the shield. While the warrior emblems have remained the same for a long time, the lineage emblems were always quite variable, and it seems that each age class made up its own.

[561]

1/4. [See p. 608--Analyst]

[Warrior Kraal]

/83 cont./

XI.

000 Warrior kraal. -- Its inhabitants. -- Work. -- Foods of the warriors. -- Forest meals. -- Organization: the speaker, his badge and tasks; leaders; benefactors. -- Dueling. -- Daily life. -- Mealtimes. -- Dance and song. -- War: permission for it, preparation, forest meal, marching off, march, camp, surgeon, spies. -- Formation of the war march for the attack. -- Battle. -- Booty. -- Captives. -- Distribution of the booty. -- Return of the warriors. -- Defense procedures. -- Attack on caravans. -- Concluding peace. -- March performance. -- Retirement from the warrior standing.

621 701 [361] [634] In each district one usually finds only one warrior kraal, which quarters all the warriors of this area. It lies in the spot from which the district can best be protected from enemy attacks. The warrior kraal (ol manjata or manjada) is not externally differentiated from other kraals by anything. It is inhabited by 50 to 100 warriors, sometimes almost double that number of young girls, the mothers and several younger brothers /84/ of the warriors. In every hut there is a large sleeping place for a warrior, and usually, at the other end of the hut, a small one for one of the mothers. The huts of those who are staying abroad for the time being are common property, and anyone who wants one takes it as quarters for the night by sticking his spear in the ground in front of it toward sundown. The others then often sleep three or four in a hut, as do the mothers.

[342] [513] [423]

621 701 462 [351] [356] The kraal is laid out by the old women, they build and maintain huts and thorn fence. Together with the girls they milk the cattle, clean the kraal every day in that they spread the cow dung, while the former sweep up and carry out the goat dung, fetch water, and keep the huts clean.

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628 682 [672] [593] revenge goes first against the murderer or, if he has fled and is not available, against his brother or any man of the family of the murderer. Usually blood revenge is commuted by composition (wergild), the amount of which the murderer negotiates with the avenger through a friend. As a rule it consists of 200-300 cattle -- [613] [614] now fewer in many cases -- which the murderer, together with his people and his fellow lineage and tribal members living in the vicinity, that is, in the same district, gather together. The avenger is free to accept or reject the composition. /215/ Blood revenge is not carried out longer than one or two months after the murder; composition then takes its place.

[678] The kraal of the ol oiboni is regarded as a place of refuge. If the murderer has confessed his deed here, blood revenge may no longer be carried out on him, though he remains obligated for the payment of the composition. Murder committed on a married man, a girl, or a woman is never expiated by blood revenge, but by a fine. Until the payment of the composition or fine the murderer is called [326] [564] ol oikobani (pl. el oikob). The murder of a blacksmith is unpunished. On the other hand, if a blacksmith murders or even only negligently kills a Masai, a band of Masai consisting of married men, warriors, and boys immediately sets out to kill several blacksmiths.

682 613 672 Negligent homicide is expiated only by fines. These are very minor if the perpetrator and the one killed belong to one lineage. If they belong to different lineages of the same tribe, every male member of the lineage (warrior, married man) and every married female member of the lineage must pay a cow. Of this livestock the brother of the one killed receives one half, while the other half [614] is distributed equally to his fellow lineage members. The fine is paid and distributed analogously if perpetrator and victim belong to different tribes. If a woman kills a man through negligence, she will also be killed in most districts. On the other hand, if a man has killed a woman, he either remains unpunished or is given a 682 beating by the brother of the woman killed. In a few districts no • 634 distinction is made as to whether the perpetrator acted intentionally 184 or negligently, for example, in Loita, where blood revenge is also [672] [628] only very rarely used.

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682 only very rarely used. In these areas the perpetrator, as punishment
• 634 for the killing or the murder of a man, loses all his property; his
184 livestock, his wives and children pass over to the heir of the deceased. For killing a woman who has not yet given birth to a child, only half of the livestock of the perpetrator will be given to the widower. For the killing of a woman who has children, the perpetrator pays her husband 19 head of cattle and 19 goats or sheep. In this some distinguished as to whether the woman killed had a son or a daughter; in the former case the fine is greater than in the latter one.

683 Bodily injury with a fatal result is regarded as the same as murder,
[682] as is one that results in the loss of a leg. A person who cuts off another's arm (in some districts this applies only to the right arm) or makes it useless pays the injured one a few head of cattle and later, in case the crippled one is killed in battle, also the fine customary as atonement for murder. It is assumed in this case that the cripple was killed only as a consequence of his inability to fight. Serious injury to the head is atoned for with the payment of a cow, an ox, and a sheep, among others only with the payment of a cow; the fracture of an arm or leg, with the payment of one or two head of cattle, likewise the fracture or loss of a finger, with /216/ the exception of the two index fingers (os sogutihoi or ol osokutoni), which, as magic fingers, are "dangerous and evil." The destruction of an eye remains unpunished. One who tears off another's ear lobe pays him a goat or a sheep for it.

672 One who acts as an accomplice in a crime against life and health is punished in the same way as the perpetrator.

684 Rape, abortion, unnatural lewdness, which is said to occur as
[682] sodomy (1),

1. Cf. the remarkably frequent prohibition in 2nd Mo. /Exodus/ 22, 19; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 20, 15; 3rd Mo. /Leviticus/ 18, 23; 5th Mo. /Deuteronomy/ 27, 21.

are not punished.

19: Talbot E-4,5 (1956-1962)1964 FL12 Masai FL12

614 (a) Section: A section is defined by
• 634 Fosbrooke (1948:7) as: "a territorial unit of the Masai, the members of which regard themselves as owners of the waters and grazing grounds, to the exclusion of other sections. Such a unit is called ol osho, pl. il oshon. Alone or in groups the sections function as units in war, in allegiance to a particular Laibon, and in the performance of certain tribal ceremonies; in general they possess a sense of solidarity which expresses itself in regarding members of other sections to a certain extent as strangers."

131 Most of the Masai in Western Masailand
614 in Kenya are of the Purko section. The Loita section
634 live on the Loita Plateau. Three small sections, the Moitanic, Uasin Gishu, and Siria, live above the Siria
[433] Escarpment. The first two are at least partly cultivators. In Tanganyika, the Serenget section occupies the Serengeti Plain (which was named for them), and the Salai section lives in the area between the Serengeti Plain and the Rift, including the Ngorongoro Highlands and the
614 southern Loita Plateau. There are a number of sub-
634 sections and divisions of these main sections. The original section organization has been much altered. Grant (1954) describes in detail these alterations for Tanganyika.